THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN

ENGLAND.

BY

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SOME TIME LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

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TO THE

QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all duty and ſubmiſſion comes into the world the laſt part of this Hiſtory under your Majeſty's protection; a juſt tribute to your Majeſty, as well on the account of the memory of the Author, ſo long engaged, and ſo uſefully, in the ſervice of the Crown, as of the work itſelf, ſo worthily memorable for the great ſubject he treats of; and ſo inſtructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is completely publiſhed, relates the tranſactions of near twenty years; hardly to be paralleled in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns and paſſages in it. In this ſpace of time, your Majeſty ſees your own country at the higheſt pitch of happineſs and proſperity, and the loweſt degree of adverſity and miſery. So that, when a man carries his thoughts and his memory over all the occurrences of thoſe times, he ſeems to be under the power of ſome enchantment, and to dream, rather than read, the relations of ſo many ſur-

priſing revolutions. The peace and the plenty of this kingdom, and, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, the bloody deſolation of it by a moſt wicked rebellion, the ruin of ſo many noble and great families, and the devaſtation of their eſtates; and, after this, the reſtitution of all things *as at the beginning*, is hardly credible at this time, even ſo ſoon after all theſe things came to paſs.

When your Majeſty ſees one of your royal anceſtors, the firſt who lived to reign as heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain united, and, on that account, higher in reputation, honour, and power, than any of his predeceſſors, brought, by unaccountable adminiſtrations on the one hand, and by vile contrivances on the other, into the greateſt difficulties and diſtreſſes throughout all his kingdoms; then left and abandoned by moſt of his ſervants, whom he had himſelf raiſed to the greateſt honours and preferments; thus reduced to have ſcarce one faithful able counſellor about him, to whom he could *breathe his conſcience and complaints*, and from whom he might expect one honeſt, ſound, diſintereſted advice: after this, how he was obliged to take up arms, and to contend with his own ſubjects in the field for his crown, the laws, his liberty, and life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the kingdom, and from one body of an army to another, till at laſt he was brought under the power of cruel and mercileſs men, impriſoned, arraigned, condemned,

and

and executed like a common malefactor: and after this ſtill, when your Majeſty ſees his enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and firſt companions in wickedneſs, with ſucceſsful inſolence, till theſe very men by force, and fraud, and ſundry artifices, ſtill getting the better one of another, brought all government into ſuch confuſion and anarchy, that no one of them could ſubſiſt; and how then, by God's providence, the heir of the royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the generality of the people, and their repreſentatives, to return, and take on him the government, in as full an exerciſe of it as any of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed; not ſubject to any of thoſe treaties, or conditions, which had been ſo often offered by his Father to the men then in credit and power, and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: when your Majeſty ſees before you all this begun, and carried on in violence and war, and concluded in a peaceful reſtoration, within the ſpace of twenty years, by Engliſhmen alone amongſt themſelves, without the intervention of any foreign power; many of the ſame hands joining in the recovery and ſettlement, as they had done before in the deſtruction, of their country; your Majeſty will certainly ſay,

This was the Lord's doing, and it muſt ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An account of this great work of God coming

to be publiſhed in your Majeſty's time, it is humbly conceived not improper to congratulate your good fortune, that, in the beginning of your reign, ſuch a hiſtory of the greateſt matters paſſed within your own dominions, comes to light; as well for the neceſſity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unſettled and various management of the public affairs, to put men in mind again of thoſe miſchiefs under which ſo many great men fell on both ſides, as in hopes, that on your Majeſty's account, and for the glory of your name, whom your people have univerſally received with joy, this generation may be inclined to let theſe freſh examples of good and evil ſink into their minds, and make the deeper impreſſion in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the year 1660 to very near 1685, which was the time of King Charles the Second's reign here in England, it muſt needs be owned, that, with all the very good underſtanding and excellent good nature of that King, there was a great mixture of counſels, and great viciſſitudes of good and bad events, almoſt throughout that ſpace of time attending his government. They ſeem indeed to be ſomewhat like the four ſeaſons of the year; of which three quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flouriſhing, and gay; but there come as conſtantly ſevere winters, that freeze, wither, deſtroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It

It muſt be owned too, ſince it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Reſtoration, there was, certainly, not ſuch a return to God Almighty for the wonderful bleſſings he had poured out with ſo liberal a hand, as, no doubt, was due to the great Author and Giver of all that happineſs: neither was there ſuch a prudence in the adminiſtration, or ſuch a ſteadineſs in the conduct of affairs, as the freſh experience of the foregone misfortunes might well have forewarned thoſe that were entruſted in it, to have purſued with courage and conſtancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulneſs of God, as well as manifeſt miſtakes towards the world; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for ſuch undutifulneſs and ill conduct.

The next four years after that reign were attended with more fatal miſcarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable errors; and the greater they are, ſo many more particular perſons are uſually involved in the calamity.

What followed after this time, till your Majeſty's moſt happy coming to the throne, is ſo freſh in the memory of all men yet living, that every one will be beſt able to make his own obſervations upon it. Such deliverances have their pangs in the birth, that much weaken the con-

ſtitution, in endeavouring to preſerve and amend it.

And now your Majeſty, who ſucceeds to a Revolution as well as a Reſtoration, has the advantage of a retroſpect on all theſe accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in thoſe times: and whatſoever was wanting, at thoſe opportunities of amending paſt errors, in the management of affairs, for the better eſtabliſhment of the Crown, and the ſecurity of the true old Engliſh government, it will be your Majeſty's happineſs to ſupply in your time: a time in ſome ſort reſembling the auſpicious beginning of King Charles the Second's Reſtoration; for in that time, as now in your Majeſty's, the people of this kingdom ran cheerfully into obedience; the chiefeſt offenders lay quiet under a ſenſe of their own crimes, and an apprehenſion of the reward juſtly due to them; and all your ſubjects went out to meet your Majeſty with duty, and moſt with love.

Compariſons of times may be as odious as that of perſons; and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid here on that ſubject, than that ſince the Reſtoration, and ſome few years after it, given up to joy and the forgetfulneſs of paſt miſeries, there hath been no time that brought ſo much hope of quiet, and ſo general a ſatisfaction to theſe kingdoms, as that on which we ſaw your Majeſty ſo happily ſeated upon the throne of your anceſtors.

Among

Among all the ſigns of greatneſs and glory in a Prince's reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil remarks as a felicity in the time of Auguſtus,

When abroad the ſovereign is proſperous, and at home does govern ſubjects willing to obey:

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving-kindneſs that draws them to their duty; and makes them rejoice under the laws by which they are governed. Such was certainly the time of your Majeſty's firſt entrance; and ſuch God grant it may be ever.

The two firſt volumes of this Hiſtory have laid before your Majeſty the original cauſes and the foundations of the rebellion and civil war; the contrivances, deſigns, and conſultations in it; and the miſerable events of it; and ſeemed to have finiſhed the whole war, when the Author, at the very end of the ninth book, ſays, that *from that time there remained no poſſibility for the King to draw any more troops together in the field.* And when there is an end of action in the field, the enquiries into the conſequences afterwards are uſually leſs warm.

But it happens in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that ſeveral new ſcenes of new wars, and the events of them, are opened in this volume; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding uſeful, even in thoſe parts, where, by reaſon of the ſadneſs of the ſub-

ject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both uſeful and delightful.

Your Majeſty eſpecially, who muſt have your heart perpetually intent to ſee what followed in the cloſe of all thoſe wars, and by what means and methods the loſs of all that noble and innocent blood, and particularly that portion of the royal ſtream then ſpilt, was recompenſed upon their heads who were the wicked contrivers of the parricide, and how at laſt the miſeries of theſe nations, and the ſufferings of your royal family, were all recovered by God Almighty's own unerring hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertained in this volume with the relation of the ſecret ſteps of the return of God's mercy, than when he ſtill ſeemed openly to have forſaken his own oppreſſed cauſe; wherein ſo much of what was deareſt to yourſelf was ſo highly concerned.

Of the tranſactions within theſe kingdoms, ſoon after the war was ended, eſpecially juſt before and after the barbarous murder of the bleſſed King, this Author could have but ſhort and imperfect informations abroad. It cannot therefore juſtly be expected that he ſhould be ſo full or minute in many circumſtances relating to the actions and conſultations of that party here at home, as are to be found in ſome other writers, whoſe buſineſs it was to intend only ſuch matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wiſhed,

wiſhed, that he had given the world a more diſtinct and particular narrative of that pious King's laſt moſt magnanimous ſufferings in his impriſonments, trial, and death. But it ſeems the remembrance of all thoſe deplorable paſſages was ſo grievous and inſupportable to the writer's mind, that he abhorred the dwelling long upon them, and choſe rather to contract the whole black tragedy within too narrow a comp ſs. But this is a loſs that can only now be lamented, not repaired.

But when the Hiſtory brings your Majeſty to what the noble writer eſteemed one of his principal buſineſſes in this volume, to attend King Charles the Second, and his two royal brothers, throughout all their wanderings, which take up a conſiderable ſhare of it, and are moſt accurately and knowingly deſcribed by him, as having been a conſtant witneſs of moſt of them, it is preſumed, this part may give your Majeſty equal ſatisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleaſant to your Majeſty, ſince you have known ſo well the happy concluſion of it, to ſee the baniſhed King under his long adverſe fortune, and how many years of trouble and diſtreſs he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his redemption from that captivity.

In that diſconſolate time of diſtreſs and lowneſs of his fortune, your Majeſty will find cauſe to obſerve, that there were factions even then in his

his little Court beyond ſea; ſo inſeparable are ſuch indecent and unchriſtian contentions from all communities of men: they are like *tares ſown by an enemy amongſt the wheat, whilſt good men ſleep.*

Upon the ſubject of the factions in thoſe days, there is a particular paſſage in this Hiſtory, of two parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even then to be very induſtrious in proſecuting this Author with unjuſt and falſe accuſations. And the Author himſelf obſerves, that, howſoever thoſe parties ſeemed, on moſt other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compaſs his deſtruction; and for no other reaſon, that ever appeared, but his being an unwearied aſſertor of the Church of England's cauſe, and a conſtant friend and ſervant to the true intereſt of it; to which either of them was really more irreconcileable, than they were to each other, whatſoever they pretended.

This paſſage ſeems to deſerve a particular reflection, becauſe, within few years after that King's reſtoration, ſome of both thoſe parties joined again in attacking this noble Author, and accuſing him anew of the very ſame pretended crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been ſo much malice ſhewed on one ſide, and ſo much natural and irreſiſtible innocency appeared on the other, that one would have thought, no arrow out of the ſame quiver could

could have been enough envenomed to have hurt ſo faithful, ſo conſtant, and ſo tried a ſervant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein your Majeſty will find what advice this Author gave his royal Maſter, upon the occaſion of his being much preſſed to go to church to Charenton, and how ſome intrigues, and ſnares, cunningly laid on one ſide, were very plainly and boldly withſtood on the other by this Author, will let the world ſee, why this man was by any means to be removed, if his adverſaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually croſſing their miſchievous deſigns, by an habitual courſe of adhering unmoveably to the intereſt of this church and nation.

In the progreſs of this book, your Majeſty will alſo find ſome very near that King whilſt he was abroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and deſperate circumſtances of his fortune, to perſuade him, that the party who had fought for his father was an inſignificant, a deſpicable, and undone number of men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of marrying ſome Roman Catholic lady, who might engage thoſe of that religion, both at home and abroad, in his Majeſty's intereſt; others at the ſame time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Preſbyterians, as moſt able to do him ſervice, and bring him home.

This noble Author all this while perſiſted, in

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the integrity of his ſoul, to uſe that credit his faithfulneſs and truth had gained him, to convince the King, that foreign force was a ſtrength not deſirable for him to depend on, and, if it were ſuſpected to be on the intereſt of Popery, of all things moſt likely to prevent and diſappoint his reſtoration; that for his own ſubjects, none of them were to be neglected; his arms ought to be ſtretched out to receive them all; but the old royal party was that his Majeſty ſhould chiefly rely on, both to aſſiſt him in his return, and afterwards to eſtabliſh his government.

This noble Author had been a watchful obſerver of all that had paſſed in the time of the troubles; and had the opportunity to have ſeen the actions, and penetrated, in a good meaſure, into the conſultations of thoſe days, and was no ill judge of the temper and nature of mankind; and he, it ſeems, could not be of opinion, but that they who had ventured all for the father, would be the trueſt and firmeſt friends to the ſon.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgment, from his obſervation of the rules of nature, and a general practice in all wiſe men to depend moſt on the ſervice and affection of thoſe who had been ſteady to them in their diſtreſſes; or whether a lukewarm trimming indifferency, though ſometimes dignified with the character of politics, did not ſuit with his plain dealing, it

is certain, he never could adviſe a Prince to hold a conduct that ſhould grieve and diſoblige his old friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old enemies rejoice. But, however his malicious proſecutors afterwards ſcandalized him, as being the author of ſuch counſels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, he really thought this kind of conduct weakened the hands, and tended to the ſubverſion of any government. And the ſucceſs has approved this judgment; for in the very inconſtant and variable adminiſtration under that King, it was found by experience, and to this day the memorials of it are extant, that he had quiet and calm days, or more rough and boiſterous weather, as he favoured or diſcountenanced his own *party;* called indeed a *party* by the enemies of it, upon a levelling principle of allowing no diſtinctions; though all who have contended againſt it were properly but *parties;* whilſt that was then, and is ſtill, on the advantage-ground of being eſtabliſhed by the laws, and incorporated into the government.

By degrees your Majeſty is brought, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, as it were to the top of ſome exalted height, from whence you may behold all the errors and misfortunes of the time paſt with advantage to yourſelf; may view armies drawn up, and battles fought, without your part of the danger; and, by the experience

of

of former misfortunes, eſtabliſh your own ſecurity.

It ſeems to be a ſituation not unlike that of the temple of wiſdom in Lucretius; from whence he adviſes his readers to look down on all the vanity and hurry of the world. And as that philoſophical poet does very movingly deſcribe the purſuits of thoſe whom he juſtly ſtyles miſerable men, diſtracting themſelves in wearisome contentions about the buſineſs and greatneſs of an empty world; ſo does this noble hiſtorian, with true and evident deductions from one cauſe and event to another, and ſuch an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring your Majeſty to an eaſy aſcent over all the knowledge of thoſe miſerable times; from whence, not in ſpeculation only, but really and experimentally, you may look down on all the folly, and madneſs, and wickedneſs of thoſe ſecret contrivances, and open violences, whereby the nation, as well as the crown, was brought to deſolation; and ſee how falſely and weakly thoſe great and buſy diſturbers of peace pretended reformation and religion, and to be ſeeking God in every one of their rebellious and ſinful actions; whereas God was not to be found in their thunder, nor their earthquakes, that ſeemed to ſhake the foundations of the world; but in the ſtill voice of peace he came at laſt, to defeat and diſappoint all their inventions:

inventions: that God, to whom vengeance belongs, aroſe, and ſhewed himſelf in defence of that righteous cauſe of the Crown and Church; which your Majeſty will obſerve to have been combined againſt, fought with, overthrown, and in the end raiſed and re-eſtabliſhed together. *Now theſe things happened for enſamples, and they are written for our admonition.*

It is now moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Majeſty's judgment, whether the conſideration of theſe matters, ſet forth in this Hiſtory, be not the moſt uſeful proſpect, not for yourſelf only, but your nobleſt train, your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

When your Majeſty is ſo attended, by God's bleſſing, no power on earth will be able to diſappoint your wiſdom, or reſiſt your will. And there may be need of all this power and authority, to preſerve and defend your ſubjects, as well as your crown, from the like diſtractions and invaſions. There may want the concurrence of a Parliament to prevent the return of the ſame miſchievous practices, and to reſtrain the madneſs of men of the ſame principles in this age, as deſtroyed the laſt; ſuch as think themſelves even more capable than thoſe in the laſt, to carry on the like wicked deſigns; ſuch as take themſelves to be informed, even from this Hiſtory, how to mend the miſtakes then committed by the principal directors on that ſide,

and

and by a more refined ſkill in wickedneſs to be able once again to overthrow the monarchy, and then to perpetuate the deſtruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is repreſented to your Majeſty of this nature will find a party ready to deny it; that will join hand in hand to aſſure the world there is no ſuch thing. It is a common cauſe, and it is their intereſt, if they can, to perſuade men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church inventions, that ſuggeſt ſuch fears and jealouſies.

But let any impartial perſon judge, to whom all the libertines of the republican party are like to unite themſelves; and whether it is imaginable, that the eſtabliſhed government, either in Church or State, can be ſtrengthened, or ſerved by them. They muſt go to the enemies of both, and pretend there is no ſuch thing as a republican party in England, that they may be the leſs obſerved, and go on the more ſecure in their deſtructive projects.

They can have no better game to play, than to declare, that none but Jacobites alarm the nation with theſe apprehenſions; and that Jacobites are much greater enemies than themſelves to your Majeſty. Let that be ſo: no man, in his wits, can ſay any thing to your Majeſty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own your government, and wiſh the

proſperity

profperity and the happineſs of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.

But whilſt theſe men moſt falſely aſperſe the ſons of the Church of England for being Jacobites, let them rather clear themſelves of what they were lately charged before your Majeſty, that there are ſocieties of them which celebrate the horrid thirtieth of January, with an execrable ſolemnity of ſcandalous mirth; and that they have ſeminaries, and a ſort of univerſities, in England, maintained by great contributions, where the fierceſt doctrines againſt monarchical and epiſcopal government are taught and propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to your Majeſty's title, name, and family.

This ſeems to be a torrent that cannot be reſiſted but by the whole legiſlative authority; neither can your throne, which they are thus perpetually aſſaulting or undermining, be ſupported by a leſs power.

In theſe difficulties your great Council will, over and above their perſonal duty to your Majeſty, take themſelves to be more concerned to be zealous in the defence of your royal prerogative, as well as of their own juſt rights and privileges, in that it was under the name and ſtyle of a Parliament, though very unjuſtly ſo called, that all the miſchiefs mentioned in this Hiſtory were brought upon the kingdom.

They beſt can diſcover the craft and ſubtilty

formerly uſed in thoſe conſultations; which firſt inveigled and drew men in from one wickedneſs to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themſelves not ſafe, but by doing greater evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a juſt indignation againſt all that hypocriſy and villainy, by which the Engliſh name and nation were expoſed to the cenſure of the reſt of the world: they only can be able to preſent your Majeſty with remedies proper and adequate to all theſe evils, by which God may be glorified, and the ancient conſtitution of this government retrieved and ſupported.

There is one calamity more, that ſtands in need of a cure from your own ſovereign hand. It is in truth a peculiar calamity fallen moſt heavily on this age, which though it took its chief riſe from the diſorderly, diſſolute times of thoſe wars, and has monſtrouſly increaſed ever ſince, yet was never owned ſo much as now, and that is a barefaced contempt and diſuſe of all religion whatſoever. And indeed what could ſo much feigned ſanctity, and ſo much real wickedneſs, during that rebellion begun in 1641, produce elſe in fooliſh men's hearts, than to ſay, *There is no God?*

This irreligion was then pretended to be covered with a more ſignal morality and preciſe ſtrictneſs in life and converſation, which was to be a recompence for the loſs of Chriſtianity.

But

But now, even that ſhadow of godlineſs and virtue is fled too. Atheiſm and profaneneſs, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a proſtitution of all manners in contempt of all government.

This profaneneſs and impiety ſeems, next to the horrible confuſions of the late rebellion, to have gained ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in authority have not, on ſeveral accounts, been heartily affected to the ſupport of the Church eſtabliſhed by law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty againſt all religion. For where the chief adviſers or managers of public affairs have inclined to alterations, which the eſtabliſhed rules have not countenanced, they durſt not cauſe the laws to be put in execution, for fear of turning the force of them on themſelves; ſo their next refuge has been to ſuffer men to obſerve no diſcipline or government at all.

Thus the Church of England, put to nurſe, as it were, ſometimes to ſuch as have been inclined to Popery, and ſometimes to other ſects, and ſometimes to men indifferent to all religion, hath been in danger of being ſtarved, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill conſequence has redounded not only to the members of that Communion, but to all the profeſſors of Chriſtianity itſelf.

Whoever have ventured to give warning of theſe wicked deſigns and practices, have been rendered as perſons of ill temper and very bad affections.

affections. They that have been in credit and authority, have been frequently inclined to be favourable to the men complained of; it has been offered on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the intereſt of the government to cover their principles, whatever might be the conſequences of them.

Thus theſe miſchiefs have been ſtill growing, and no laws have hitherto reached them; and, poſſibly, they are become incapable of a remedy; unleſs your Majeſty's great example of piety and virtue ſhall have ſufficient influence to amend them: no honeſt man can ſay it is not reaſonable, and even neceſſary to watch them; and that, in compaſſion to your ſubjects, as well as juſtice to yourſelf. This Hiſtory hath ſhewn your Majeſty their fruits in the late times, by which you ſhall know them ſtill; for your Majeſty well remembers who has ſaid, that

Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thiſtles.

That God may give your Majeſty a diſcerning ſpirit, a wiſe and underſtanding heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to your peace; that he may enable you to ſubdue your enemies abroad by ſucceſsful counſels and arms, and to reduce your ill willers at home by prudent laws, adminiſtered with the meekneſs of wiſdom; that he would give you length of days in one hand, and riches and honour in the other; that you, in your days, may have the glory to

reſtore

reſtore good nature (for which the Engliſh nation was formerly ſo celebrated) and good manners, as well as the ſincere profeſſion and univerſal practice of the true religion, in your kingdoms; and that his almighty power may defend you with his favourable kindneſs as with a ſhield, againſt all your adverſaries of every kind, are the zealous, conſtant, and devout prayers of ſo many millions, that it were the higheſt preſumption in any one perſon, to ſubſcribe a particular name to ſo univerſal a concern.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK X.

JER. XXX. 6.

Wherefore do I ſee every man with his hands on his loins, as a woman in travail, and all faces are turned into paleneſs?

JER. xlvii. 6.

O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thyſelf into thy ſcabbard, reſt, and be ſtill.

EZEK. XXXiv. 2.

Woe be to the ſhepherds of Iſrael, that do feed themſelves! ſhould not the ſhepherds feed the flocks?

THE actions of the laſt year were attended with ſo many diſmal accidents and events, that there were no ſeeds of hope left to ſpring up in this enſuing ill year; for it was enough diſcerned how little ſucceſs the treaty with the Scots would produce; which yet the King did not deſire to put a period to, otherwiſe than by poſitively declaring, "that he would never conſent to the alteration of the Church-government," but was willing

enough that they ſhould entertain any other hopes, and was not himſelf without hope, that, by ſatisfying the ambition and intereſt of particular men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Preſbyterian faction; and to that purpoſe Monſieur Montrevil was gone from London to the Scottiſh army, then before Newark, having taken Oxford in his way, and ſo given an account to the King of his obſervations, and received from him ſuch information and inſtruction as was neceſſary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untried to draw ſuch a body of an army together, as might enable his Majeſty to make ſome attempt upon the enemy; and if he could, by all poſſible endeavours, have drawn out of all his garriſons left, a force of five thouſand horſe and foot, (which at that time ſeemed a thing not to be deſpaired of), he did more deſire to have loſt his life, in ſome ſignal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foreſaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty; and he was not out of hope of a body of five thouſand foot to be landed in Cornwall, which his letters from France confidently promiſed, and which had been ſo much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from tranſporting himſelf into Scilly, till Fairfax was marched (as hath been ſaid before) within little more than twenty miles of Pendennis. For Sir Dudley Wyat had been ſent expreſsly from the Lord Jermyn, to aſſure the Prince, that ſuch a body of five thouſand foot were actually raiſed under the command of Ruvignie, and ſhould be embarked for Pendennis within leſs than a month; and the Lord Jermyn, in a poſtſcript to that letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sir Dudley Wyat, wiſhed him not to be too ſtrict in the computation

tion of the month from the date of the letter, becauſe there might be accidents of winds at that ſeaſon; but he deſired him to be confident, that they ſhould be all landed within the expiration of ſix weeks, and by that meaſure to conduct the reſolutions, and to decline fighting upon that account. After all this, it is as true, that there was never a man at this time levied or deſigned for that expedition, only the name of Ruvignie (becauſe he was of the religion, and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned, in ſome looſe diſcourſe by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be ſent into England for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreaſonable expectation; the which and many other of that great lord's negociations and tranſactions, the ſucceeding and long continuing misfortunes, kept from being ever after examined, or conſidered and reflected upon.

The Prince ſtayed in the iſle of Scilly from Wedneſday the 4th of March till Thurſday the 16th of April, the wind having continued ſo contrary, that the Lords Capel and Hopton came not to him from Cornwall till the Saturday before; at which time likewiſe arrived a trumpeter from Sir Thomas Fairfax, with ſuch a meſſage from the Parliament to the Prince as might well be called a ſummons, rather than an invitation; yet it was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the Prince's ſervants. The next morning, being Sunday, a fleet of about twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight ſail of ſhips encompaſſed the iſland; but within three or four hours, by a very notable tempeſt, which continued two days, they were diſperſed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakneſs of the place, if it

ſhould be attacked by any conſiderable ſtrength, (which both by the meſſage and the attendants of it they had reaſon to apprehend), together with the extreme ſcarcity of proviſions in that iſland, which had not been, in the ſix weeks the Prince ſtayed there, ſupplied with victual for two days out of Cornwall, neither had there been any returns from France upon the Lord Colepepper's application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the ſeaſon of the year, his Highneſs inclined to remove to Jerſey; againſt which nothing could be objected of weight, but the conſideration of the King's being at London (which was ſtrongly reported ſtill) in a treaty; and then, that his Highneſs's remove, eſpecially if by diſtreſs of weather he ſhould be forced into France, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reaſonable, firſt to expect ſome advertiſement from his Majeſty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highneſs produced in council this enſuing letter from the King, which was writ ſhortly after the battle of Naſeby, and which he had concealed till that morning from all the lords, and which truly, I think, was the only ſecret he had ever kept from the four he had truſted.

Hereford, the 23d of June, 1645.

" Charles,

A letter from the King to the Prince, written from Hereford, June 23, 1645.

" My late misfortunes remember me to command " you that which I hope you ſhall never have occaſion " to obey; it is this: if I ſhould at any time be taken " priſoner by the rebels, I command you (upon my " bleſſing) never to yield to any conditions, that are " diſhonourable, unſafe for your perſon, or derogatory " to regal authority, upon any conſiderations whatſoever, " though it were for the ſaving of my life; which in

" ſuch

" ſuch a caſe, I am moſt confident, is in greateſt ſecu-
" rity by your conſtant reſolution, and not a whit the
" more in danger for their threatening, unleſs thereby
" you ſhould yield to their deſires. But let their reſo-
" lutions be never ſo barbarous, the ſaving of my life by
" complying with them would make me end my days
" with torture, and diſquiet of mind, not giving you
" my bleſſing, and curſing all the reſt who are conſent-
" ing to it. But your conſtancy will make me die
" cheerfully, praiſing God for giving me ſo gallant a
" ſon, and heaping my bleſſings on you; which you
" may be confident (in ſuch a caſe) will light on you.
" I charge you to keep this letter ſtill ſafe by you,
" until you ſhall have cauſe to uſe it; and then, and
" not till then, to ſhew it to all your Council; it being
" my command to them, as well as you; whom I pray
" God to make as proſperouſly glorious as any of the
" predeceſſors ever were of

" Your loving father, *Charles R.*"

After the reading this letter, and a conſideration of the probability that the rebels would make ſome attempt upon his Highneſs there, and the impoſſibility of reſiſting ſuch an attempt in the condition the iſland then ſtood, it was by his Highneſs with great earneſtneſs propoſed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of Berkſhire) unanimouſly adviſed, that the opportunity ſhould be then laid hold on, whilſt the rebels' ſhips were ſcattered; and that his Highneſs ſhould embark for Jerſey; which he did accordingly on Thurſday; and on the next day, being the 17th of April, with a proſperous wind landed at Jerſey; from whence, the ſame night, they ſent an expreſs to the Queen, of the Prince's ſafe arrival in that iſland; and likewiſe letters

The Prince of Wales embarks from Scilly, lands at Jerſey April 17.

to St. Maloes, and Havre de Grace, to advertiſe the Lord Colepepper of the ſame; who received the information very ſeaſonably, lying then at Havre with two frigates in expectation of a wind for Scilly, and with command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an account of this iſland, both himſelf and all their lordſhips were of opinion, that it was a place of the greateſt ſecurity, benefit, and conveniency to repoſe in, that could have been deſired, and wiſhed for; till upon a clear information, and obſervation of the King's condition, and the ſtate of England, he ſhould find a fit opportunity to act; and the Prince himſelf ſeemed to have the greateſt averſion and reſolution againſt going into France, except in caſe of danger of ſurpriſal by the rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr. Progers, who had been diſpatched before (preſently upon the Lord Colepepper's coming) from Paris for Scilly, being hindered by contrary winds till he received the news of the Prince's being at Jerſey, came thither, and brought this following letter from her Majeſty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in cipher.

Paris, the 5th of April, 1646.

A letter from the Queen to the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the Prince's removal into France.

" My Lord Colepepper muſt witneſs for me that I " have patiently, and at large, heard all that he could ſay " concerning the condition of Scilly, and all that has " been propoſed for rendering of the Prince of Wales's " abode there ſafe; yet I muſt confeſs to you, that I am " ſo far from being ſatisfied in that point, that I ſhall " not ſleep in quiet until I ſhall hear that the Prince of " Wales ſhall be removed from thence. It is confeſſed, " it is not ſufficiently fortified, and is acceſſible in divers " places; and the manning the works will require a

" thouſand

" thouſand men more than you have, or, for ought I " ſee, can procure; neither can you be confident, that " the loſs of Cornwall may not ſuddenly have a " dangerous influence upon that garriſon; moſt of " your ſoldiers being of that country. The power of " the Parliament at ſea is ſo great, that you cannot rely " upon the ſeaſonable and ſafe conveyance of ſuch pro- " portions of proviſions, as ſo great a garriſon will re- " quire: I need not remember you of what importance " to the King, and all his party, the ſafety of the " Prince's perſon is; if he ſhould fall into the rebels' " hands, the whole would thereby become deſperate; " therefore I muſt importunately conjure you to intend " this work, as the principal ſervice you can do to the " King, me, or the Prince. Colepepper will tell you " how I have ſtrained to aſſiſt you with preſent provi- " ſions, ſhipping, and money, neceſſary for the Prince's " remove to Jerſey; where, be confident of it, he ſhall " want nothing. Beſides, for ſatisfaction of others, I " have moved the Queen Regent to give aſſurance, " that if the Prince, in his way to Jerſey, ſhould be ne- " ceſſitated, by contrary winds, or the danger of the " Parliament ſhipping, to touch in France, he ſhould " have all freedom and aſſiſtance from hence, in his " immediate paſſage thither; which is granted with " great cheerfulneſs and civility, and will be ſubſcribed " under the hands of the French King and Queen, my " brother, and Cardinal Mazarine: therefore I hope all " ſcruples are now ſatisfied. Colepepper is haſtening to " you with good frigates; but if you ſhall find any " danger before their arrival, I ſhall rely upon your care " not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, " according to the reſolution in council, which Cole- " pepper hath acquainted me with; for which I thank

" you. I need not tell you how acceptable this ſervice " will be to the King, who in every letter preſſes me to " write to you concerning my ſon's ſafety; nor that I " am, and always will be, moſt conſtantly,

" Your aſſured friend, *Henriette Marie R.*"

The Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertiſed at their firſt landing there, that there was ſtill an expectation of the Prince in France; and that he would be ſpeedily importuned from thence; which they could not believe: but as ſoon as the Lord Colepepper came, they plainly diſcerned that letter had been written upon advice to Scilly, and upon foreſeeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been ſubmitted to; and that the inſtrument mentioned for his Highneſs's quiet and uninterrupted paſſage through France to Jerſey, was only a colour, the ſooner to have invited the Prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his paſſage; but that the reſolution was, that he ſhould not then have come to Jerſey, as it was now, that he ſhould quickly come from thence; to which purpoſe, ſhortly after, came moſt importunate letters from the Queen; and it ſeems, howſoever all the late letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of England, were for his repair into Denmark, his Majeſty, upon what reaſons I know not, conceived his Highneſs to be in France; for after his coming to Jerſey, this following letter was ſent to him, by the Lord Jermyn, in whoſe cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his lordſhip.

Oxford,

Oxford, the 22d of March.

" Charles,

" Hoping that this will find you ſafe with your mo- A letter from the King to the Prince.
" ther, I think fit to write this ſhort but neceſſary letter
" to you: then know, that your being where you are,
" ſafe from the power of the rebels, is, under God, either
" my greateſt ſecurity, or my certain ruin. For your
" conſtancy to religion, obedience to me, and to the
" rules of honour, will make theſe inſolent men begin
" to hearken to reaſon, when they ſhall ſee their injuſ-
" tice not like to be crowned with quiet: but, if you
" depart from thoſe grounds for which I have all this
" time fought, then your leaving this kingdom will be
" (with too much probability) called ſufficient proof for
" many of the ſlanders heretofore laid upon me: where-
" fore, once again, I command you upon my bleſſing to
" be conſtant to your religion, neither hearkening to
" Roman ſuperſtitions, nor the ſeditious and ſchiſmati-
" cal doctrines of the Preſbyterians and Independents;
" for, know that a perſecuted Church is not thereby
" leſs pure, though leſs fortunate. For all other things,
" I command you to be totally directed by your mo-
" ther, and (as ſubordinate to her) by the remainder of
" that Council which I put to you, at your parting
" from hence: and ſo God bleſs you.

" *Charles R.*"

This letter, and the very paſſionate commands from the Queen, together with what was privately ſaid to his Highneſs by the Lord Colepepper, who from his being at Paris had changed his former opinions, and was (though he expreſſed it tenderly; finding a general averſion) poſitive for his going, wrought ſo far on the Prince that he diſcovered an inclination to the journey; where-

whereupon the Council preſented at large to him, the inconveniences and dangers that naturally might be ſuppoſed would attend ſuch a reſolution: they remembered the carriage of the French ſince the beginning of this rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the leaſt degree, aſſiſted the King; that there was no evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the rebels; that it would be neceſſary they ſhould make ſome public declaration on his Majeſty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown ſhould put himſelf into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that reſolution at leaſt to be of that importance that it ought to be throughly weighed and conſidered, before executed; and ſo, in the end they prevailed with the Prince (ſince at that time it was not known where the King was) to ſend the Lords Capel and Colepepper again to the Queen, to preſent the weightineſs of the matter to her Majeſty. One of their inſtructions was as follows.

The Lords Capel and Colepepper ſent to Paris, to diſſuade the Queen from ſending for the Prince into France.

Their inſtructions, and arrival at Paris.

"You ſhall inform her Majeſty, that we have, with "all duty and ſubmiſſion, conſidered her letters to us "concerning our ſpeedy repair into the kingdom of "France; the which direction we conceive to be "grounded upon her Majeſty's apprehenſion of danger "to our perſon by any reſidence here; the contrary "whereof, we believe, her Majeſty will be no ſooner "advertiſed of, than ſhe will hold us excuſed for not "giving that preſent obedience which we deſire always "to yield to the leaſt intimation of her Majeſty; and "therefore, you ſhall humbly acquaint her Majeſty "that we have great reaſon to believe this iſland to be "defenſible againſt a greater force, than we ſuppoſe "probable

" probable to be brought againſt it. That the inhabit-
" ants of the iſland expreſs as much cheerfulneſs, una-
" nimity, and reſolution for the defence of our perſon,
" by their whole carriage, and particularly by a proteſ-
" tation voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be de-
" ſired; and that, if, contrary to expectation, the re-
" bels ſhould take the iſland, we can from the caſtle
" (a place in itſelf of very great ſtrength) with the leaſt
" hazard remove ourſelf to France; which in caſe of
" imminent danger we reſolve to do. That our ſecurity
" being thus ſtated, we beſeech her Majeſty to conſider,
" whether it be not abſolutely neceſſary, before any
" thought of our remove from hence be entertained,
" that we have as clear an information as may be got,
" of the condition of our royal father, and the affections
" of England; of the reſolutions of the Scots in Eng-
" land, and the ſtrength of the Lord Mountroſe in
" Scotland; of the affairs in Ireland, and the concluſion
" of the treaty there; that ſo, upon a full and mature
" proſpect upon the whole, we may ſo diſpoſe of our
" perſon as may be moſt for the benefit and advantage
" of our royal father; or patiently attend ſuch an altera-
" tion and conjuncture, as may adminiſter a greater ad-
" vantage than is yet offered; and whether our remove
" out of the dominions of our royal father (except upon
" ſuch a neceſſity, or apparent viſible conveniency)
" may not have an influence upon the affections of the
" three kingdoms to the diſadvantage of his Majeſty."

Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, Sir Dudley Wyat arrived with the news of the King's being gone out of Oxford, before the break of day, only with two ſervants, and to what place uncertain: it was believed by the Queen, as ſhe ſaid in her letter to the Prince, that he was gone for Ireland, or to the

the Scots; and therefore her Majeſty renewed her command for the Prince's immediate repair into France; whereas the chief reaſon before was, that he would put himſelf into the Scots' hands; and therefore it was neceſſary that his Highneſs ſhould be in France, to go in the head of thoſe forces which ſhould be immediately ſent out of that kingdom to aſſiſt his Majeſty.

The two lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himſelf came not; ſhe declared herſelf "not "to be moved with any reaſons that were, or could be, "given for his ſtay; and that her reſolution was poſi-"tive and unalterable:" yet they prevailed with her, to reſpite any poſitive declaration till ſhe might receive full advertiſement of the King's condition; who was by this time known to be in the Scottiſh army.

It is remembered before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at Scilly, ſent a gentleman to Ireland to the Marquis of Ormond, as well that he might be punctually informed of the ſtate of that kingdom, (of which there were ſeveral reports), as that he might receive from thence a company or two of foot, for the better guard of that iſland; which he foreſaw would be neceſſary, whether he ſhould remain there or not. The gentleman had a very quick paſſage to Dublin, and came thither very quickly after the peace was agreed upon with the Iriſh Roman Catholics, and found the Lord Digby there; who, after his enterpriſe, and diſbanding in Scotland, had firſt tranſported himſelf into the iſle of Man, and from thence into Ireland; where he had been received, with great kindneſs and generoſity, by the Marquis of Ormond, as a man who had been in ſo eminent a poſt in the King's council and affairs. He was a perſon of ſo rare a compoſition by nature and by art, (for nature alone could never have reached to it), that he

was

was so far from being ever dismayed upon any misfortune, (and greater variety of misfortunes never befel any man), that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of reputation and honour; and so he no sooner heard of the Prince's being in the isle of Scilly, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the Prince's presence in Ireland would settle and compose all the factions there; reduce the kingdom to his Majesty's service; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an enemy to the peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The Lord Lieutenant had so good an opinion of the expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that, when his Highness had been forced to leave England, he had rather chosen to have made Ireland than Scilly his retreat; but, being a wise man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but, forthwith, having a couple of frigates ready, he caused an hundred men with their officers to be presently put on board, according to his Highness's desire; and the Lord Digby (who always concluded, that that was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those vessels; resolving, that, upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly, and to repair to Dublin; which, he did not doubt, if brought to pass in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But, by the sudden remove of the Prince from Scilly,

Scilly, the two frigates from Dublin miſſed finding him there; and that lord, whoſe order they were obliged to obſerve, made all the haſte he could to Jerſey; where he found the Prince, with many other of his friends who attended his Highneſs, the two lords being gone but the day before to attend the Queen: he loſt no time in informing his Highneſs of the happy ſtate and condition of Ireland; that the peace was concluded; and an army of twelve thouſand men ready to be tranſported into England; of the great zeal and affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his ſervice; and that if his Highneſs would repair thither, he ſhould find the whole kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon poſitively adviſed him, without farther deliberation, to put himſelf aboard thoſe frigates; which were excellent ſailers, and fit for his ſecure tranſportation.

The Lord Digby arrives at Jerſey from Ireland.

The Prince told him, "that it was a matter of greater "importance, than was fit to be executed upon ſo "ſhort deliberation; that he was no ſooner arrived at "Jerſey, than he received letters from the Queen his "mother, requiring him forthwith to come to Paris, "where all things were provided for his reception; that "he had ſent two of the lords of the Council to the "Queen, to excuſe him for not giving ready obedience "to her commands; and to aſſure her that he was in a "place of unqueſtionable ſecurity; in which he might "ſafely expect to hear from the King his father before he "took any other reſolution: that it would be very in-"congruous now to remove from thence, and to go into "Ireland, before his meſſenger's return from Paris; in "which time, he might reaſonably hope to hear from "the King himſelf; and ſo wiſhed him to have patience "till the matter was more ripe for a determination." This reaſonable anſwer gave him no ſatisfaction; he commended the Prince's averſeneſs from going into France;

France; "which, he ſaid, was the moſt pernicious "counſel that ever could be given; that it was a thing "the King his father abhorred, and never would con- "ſent to; and that he would take upon himſelf to "write to the Queen, and to give her ſuch ſolid advice "and reaſons, that ſhould infallibly convert her from "that deſire, and that ſhould abundantly ſatisfy her "that his going into Ireland was abſolutely neceſſary; "but that a little delay in the execution of it might "deprive him of all the fruit which was to be expected "from that journey; and therefore renewed his advice "and importunity, for loſing no more time, but imme- "diately to embark;" which when he ſaw was not like to prevail with his Highneſs, he repaired to one of thoſe of the Privy Council who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular friendſhip, and lamented to him the loſs of ſuch an occaſion, which would inevitably reſtore the King; who would be equally ruined if the Prince went into France; of which he ſpoke with all the deteſtation imaginable; and ſaid, "he "was ſo far ſatisfied in his conſcience of the benefit "that would redound from the one, and the ruin which "would inevitably fall out by the other, that, he ſaid, "if the perſon with whom he held this conference, "would concur with him, he would carry the Prince "into Ireland, even without and againſt his conſent." The other perſon anſwered, "that it was not to be at- "tempted without his conſent; nor could he imagine "it poſſible to bring it to paſs, if they ſhould both en- "deavour it." He replied, "that he would invite the "Prince on board the frigates to a collation; and that "he knew well he could ſo commend the veſſels to him, "that his own curioſity would eaſily invite him to a "view of them; and that as ſoon as he was on board,

"he

" he would cauſe the ſails to be hoiſted up, and make no " ſtay till he came into Ireland."

The other was very angry with him for entertaining ſuch imaginations; and told him, " they neither agreed " with his wiſdom nor his duty;" and left him in deſpair of his conjunction, and, at the ſame time, of being able to compaſs it. He had no ſooner diſcharged himſelf of this imagination, but in the inſtant (as he had a moſt pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the ſame vigour; and reſolved, with all poſſible expedition, to find himſelf at Paris, not making the leaſt queſtion but that he ſhould convert the Queen from any farther thought of ſending for the Prince into France, and as eaſily obtain her conſent and approbation for his repairing into Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to ſend a good ſupply of money by him into Ireland; by which he ſhould acquire a moſt univerſal reputation, and be the moſt welcome man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and tranſported with this happy auguration, he left Jerſey; leaving at the ſame time his two ſhips, and his ſoldiers, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality, (who, upon his deſire, and many promiſes, had kept him company from Ireland), without one penny of money to ſubſiſt on during his abſence.

Thence he goes into France.

As ſoon as he came to Paris, and had ſeen the Queen, (whom he found very well inclined to do all ſhe could for the relief of Ireland, but reſolute to have the Prince her ſon immediately with her, notwithſtanding all the reaſons preſſed againſt it by the lords of the King's Council, who had been ſent from Jerſey), he attended the Cardinal; who underſtood him very well, and knew his foible; and received him with all the ceremony, and demonſtration of reſpect, he could poſſibly expreſs; entered

His tranſactions there with the Queen of England and Cardinal Mazarine.

entered upon the diſcourſe of England; celebrated the part which he had acted upon that ſtage, in ſo many actions of courage, and ſagacity, of the higheſt prudence and circumſpection, with an indefatigable induſtry and fidelity. He told him, "that France found too late "their own error; that they had been very well content "to ſee the King's great puiſſance weakened by his do- "meſtic troubles, which they wiſhed only ſhould keep "him from being able to hurt his neighbours; but that "they never had deſired to ſee him at the mercy of his "own rebels, which they ſaw now was like to be the "caſe; and they were therefore reſolved to wed his in- "tereſt in ſuch a way and manner, as the Queen of "England ſhould deſire;" in which he well knew how much her Majeſty would depend upon his lordſhip's counſel.

The Cardinal ſaid, "it was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince "the Crown of France reſolved to wed the King's inter- "eſt, that the perſon of the Prince of Wales ſhould re- "ſide in France; that the method he had thought of "proceeding in was, that the Queen of England ſhould "make choice of ſuch a perſon, whom ſhe thought beſt "affected, and beſt qualified for ſuch an employment, "whom the King of France would immediately ſend as "his extraordinary ambaſſador to the King and to the "Parliament; that he ſhould govern himſelf wholly by "ſuch inſtructions as the Queen ſhould give him; "which, he knew, would be his lordſhip's work to pre- "pare; that all things ſhould be made ready as ſoon as "the Queen would nominate the ambaſſador; and that, "upon the arrival of the Prince of Wales in any part of "France, as ſoon as notice ſhould be ſent to the Court "of it (for which due preparation ſhould be made), the "ambaſſador ſhould be in the ſame manner diſpatched

" for England, with one only inſtruction from France;
" which ſhould be, that he ſhould demand a ſpeedy
" anſwer from the Parliament, whether they would ſa-
" tisfy the demands the French Court had made?
" which if they ſhould refuſe to do, he ſhould forth-
" with, in the King his maſter's name, declare war
" againſt them, and immediately leave the kingdom,
" and return home; and then there ſhould be quickly
" ſuch an army ready, as was worthy for the Prince
" of Wales to venture his own perſon in; and that
" he ſhould have the honour to redeem and reſtore his
" father."

This diſcourſe ended, the Lord Digby wanted not language to extol the generoſity and the magnanimity of the reſolution, and to pay the Cardinal all his compliments in his own coin, and, from thence, to enter upon the condition of Ireland; in which the Cardinal preſently interrupted him, and told him, " he knew well
" he was come from thence, and meant to return thi-
" ther, and likewiſe the carriage of the Nuncio. That
" the Marquis of Ormond was too brave a gentleman,
" and had merited too much of his maſter to be de-
" ſerted, and France was reſolved not to do its buſineſs
" by halves, but to give the King's affairs an entire re-
" lief in all places; that he ſhould carry a good ſupply
" of money with him into Ireland, and that arms and
" ammunition ſhould be ſpeedily ſent after him, and
" ſuch direction to their agent there, as ſhould draw off
" all the Iriſh from the Nuncio, who had not entirely
" given themſelves up to the Spaniſh intereſt."

The noble perſon had that which he moſt deſired; he was preſently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would preſently convert all at Jerſey; and that the Prince ſhould obey all her commands;

and

and entered into conſultation with her upon the election of an ambaſſador, and what inſtructions ſhould be given him; which he took upon himſelf to prepare. Monſieur Bellievre was named by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had deſigned for that office. The Cardinal approved the inſtructions, and cauſed ſix thouſand piſtoles to be paid to him, who was to go to Ireland; and though it was a much leſs ſum than he had promiſed himſelf, from the magnificent expreſſions the Cardinal had uſed to him, yet it provided well for his own occaſions; ſo he left the Queen with his uſual profeſſions, and confidence, and accompanied thoſe lords to Jerſey, who were to attend upon his Highneſs with her Majeſty's orders for the Prince's repair into France; for the advancement whereof the Cardinal was ſo ſolicitous, that he writ a letter to the old Prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith ſend to the Queen; as he did), in which he ſaid, "that he had received very certain ad-"vertiſement out of England, that there were ſome "perſons about the Prince of Wales in Jerſey, who had "undertaken to deliver his Highneſs up into the hands "of the Parliament for twenty thouſand piſtoles;" and this letter was forthwith ſent by the Queen to overtake the lords, that it might be ſhewed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him might diſcern what would be thought of them, if they diſſuaded his Highneſs from giving a preſent obedience to his mother's commands.

As ſoon as they came to Jerſey, the Lord Digby uſed all the means he could to perſuade his friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into France. He told him all that had paſſed between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the expreſſions of the high value his Eminence had of his particu-

lar perſon: "that an ambaſſador was choſen by his ad-
"vice, and his inſtructions drawn by him, from no part
"of which the ambaſſador durſt ſwerve;" (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himſelf had nominated the ambaſſador, and that his inſtructions would be exactly obſerved by him; ſo great a power he had always over himſelf, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him;) "that a war
"would be preſently proclaimed upon their refuſal to do
"what the ambaſſador required, and that there wanted
"nothing to the expediting this great affair, but the
"Prince's repairing into France without farther delay;
"there being no other queſtion concerning that matter,
"than whether his Highneſs ſhould ſtay in Jerſey?
"where there could be no queſtion of his ſecurity,
"until he could receive expreſs direction from the
"King his father; and therefore he conjured his friend
"to concur in that advice; which would be very grate-
"ful to the Queen, and be attended with much benefit
"to himſelf;" telling him "how kind her Majeſty was
"to him, and how confident ſhe was of his ſervice,
"and that if he ſhould be of another opinion, it would
"not hinder the Prince from going; who, he knew,
"was reſolved to obey his mother;" and ſo concluded his diſcourſe, with thoſe arguments which he thought were like to make moſt impreſſion on him; and gave him the inſtructions by which the ambaſſador was to be guided.

His friend, who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities, told him, "whatever the Prince would be diſpoſed to do, he
"could not change his opinion in point of counſel,
"until the King's pleaſure might be known:" he put him in mind, "how he had been before deceived at
"Oxford

" Oxford by the Conte de Harcourt, who was an am-
" baſſador likewiſe, as we then thought, named by our-
" ſelves, and whoſe inſtructions he had likewiſe drawn;
" and yet, he could not but well remember how foully
" that buſineſs had been managed, and how diſobligingly
" he himſelf had been treated by that ambaſſador; and
" therefore he could not but wonder, that the ſame arti-
" fices ſhould again prevail with him; and that he could
" imagine that the inſtructions he had drawn would be
" at all conſidered, or purſued, farther than they might
" contribute to what the Cardinal for the preſent de-
" ſigned; of the integrity whereof, they had no evi-
" dence, but had reaſon enough to ſuſpect it."

The Lord Capel, and the Lord Colepepper, ſtayed at Paris with the Queen full three weeks; having only prevailed with her to ſuſpend her preſent commands for the Prince's remove from Jerſey, until ſhe ſhould have clear intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though ſhe declared a poſitive reſolution that his Highneſs ſhould come to Paris, let the intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well aſſured that his Majeſty had put himſelf into the Scottiſh army as it lay before Newark; and that, as ſoon as he came thither, he had cauſed that garriſon to deliver the town into the hands of the Scots; and that thereupon the Scots marched preſently away to Newcaſtle: that they had preſſed the King to do many things, which he had abſolutely refuſed to do; and that thereupon they had put very ſtrict guards upon his Majeſty, and would not permit any man to repair to him, or to ſpeak with him; ſo that his Majeſty looked upon himſelf as a priſoner, and reſolved to make another eſcape from them as ſoon as he could. Mr. Aſhburnham, who attended upon him in his journey from Oxford as his ſole

ſervant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himſelf on board a veſſel, then at Newcaſtle, and bound for France, the Scots would have delivered him up to the Parliament. Monſieur Montrevil, the French envoy, pretended that they were ſo incenſed againſt him for briſkly expoſtulating with them for their ill treatment of the King, that it was no longer ſafe for him to remain in their quarters, and more dangerous to return to London; and therefore, he had likewiſe procured a Dutch ſhip to land him in France, and was come to Paris before the lords returned to Jerſey.

The Queen thought now ſhe had more reaſon to be confirmed in her former reſolution for the ſpeedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a letter from the King, which was deciphered by the Lord Jermyn; in which he ſaid, "that he did "believe that the Prince could not be ſafe any where "but with the Queen; and therefore wiſhed, that if he "were not there already, he ſhould be ſpeedily ſent "for;" and Montrevil profeſſed to have a meſſage by word of mouth to the ſame purpoſe: whereas Mr. Aſhburnham, who left the King but the day before Montrevil, and was as entirely truſted by the King as any man in England, brought no ſuch meſſage; and confeſſed to the Lord Capel, "that he thought it very "pernicious to the King that the Prince ſhould come "into France in that conjuncture, and before it was "known how the Scots would deal with him; and that "the King's opinion of the convenience of his coming "into France, could proceed from nothing but the "thought of his inſecurity in Jerſey." The Lord Capel offered to undertake a journey himſelf to Newcaſtle, and to receive the King's poſitive commands, which he was confident would be ſubmitted to, and obeyed by all the

the Council as well as by himſelf: but the Queen was poſitive, that, without any more delay, the Prince ſhould immediately repair to her; and, to that purpoſe, ſhe ſent the Lord Jermyn (who was Governor of Jerſey) together with the Lord Digby, the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Wilmot, and other lords and gentlemen, who, with the two lords who had been ſent to her by the Prince, ſhould make haſte to Jerſey to ſee her commands executed. Whilſt they are upon their journey thither, it will be ſeaſonable to enquire how the King came to involve himſelf in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his liberty and freedom.

A farther account of Monſieur Montrevil's negociation with the Scots.

Monſieur Montrevil was a perſon utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourſe or correſpondence with him; ſo that what I ſhall ſay of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I ſhall ſay any thing for his vindication from thoſe reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the Engliſh and Scottiſh nation, countenanced enough by the diſcountenance he received from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the firſt account he had given of his negociation, reſtrained from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in Paris, and lay under a formed, declared diſlike till his death; which with grief of mind ſhortly enſued. But as it is no unuſual hard-heartedneſs in ſuch chief miniſters, to ſacrifice ſuch inſtruments, how innocent ſoever, to their own dark purpoſes, ſo it is probable, that temporary cloud would ſoon have vaniſhed, and that it was only caſt over him, that he might be thereby ſecluded from the converſation of the Engliſh Court; which muſt have been reaſonably very inquiſitive, and might thereby have diſcovered ſomewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I ſay, if

what I here ſet down of that tranſaction, ſhall appear ſome vindication of that gentleman from thoſe imputations under which his memory remains blaſted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honeſty, to be preſerved in hiſtory as the very ſoul of it, towards all perſons who come to be mentioned in it; and ſince I have in my hands all the original letters which paſſed from him to the King, and the King's anſwers and directions thereupon, or ſuch authentic copies thereof, as have been by myſelf examined with the originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjuſtly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of thoſe actions, which appear to have reſulted from ingenuity, and upright intentions, how unſucceſsful ſoever.

He was then a young gentleman of parts very equal to the truſt the Cardinal repoſed in him, and to the employment he gave him; and of a nature not inclined to be made uſe of in ordinary diſſimulation and cozenage. Whilſt he took his meaſures only from the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London, and from thoſe Preſbyterians whom he had opportunity to converſe with there, he did not give the King the leaſt encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the government of the Church by Biſhops, and an entire conformity to the Covenant; and he uſed all the arguments which occurred to him, to perſuade his Majeſty that all other hopes of agreement with them were deſperate; and when he ſaw his Majeſty unmoveable in that particular, and reſolute to undergo the utmoſt event of war, before he would wound his peace of mind, and conſcience, with ſuch an odious

odious conceſſion, he undertook that journey we mentioned in the end of the laſt year, to diſcover whether the ſame rude and rigid ſpirit, which governed thoſe commiſſioners at Weſtminſter, poſſeſſed alſo the chief officers of the Scottiſh army, and that committee of State that always remained with the army.

The Scottiſh army was then before Newark; and, in his paſſage thither, he waited upon the King at Oxford; and was confirmed in what he had reaſon before to be confident of, that it was abſolutely impoſſible ever to prevail with his Majeſty to give up the Church to the moſt impetuous demands they could make, or to the greateſt neceſſity himſelf could be environed with; but as to any other conceſſions which might ſatisfy their ambition or their profit, which were always powerful and irreſiſtible ſpells upon that party, he had ample authority and commiſſion to comply with the moſt extravagant demands from perſons like to make good what they undertook, except ſuch propoſitions as might be miſchievous to the Marquis of Mountroſe; whom the King reſolved never to deſert, nor any who had joined with and aſſiſted him; all which, he deſired to unite to thoſe who might now be perſuaded to ſerve him. His Majeſty, for his better information, recommended him to ſome perſons who had then command in the Scottiſh army; of whoſe affections and inclinations to his ſervice, he had as much confidence, at leaſt, as he ought to have; and of their credit, and courage, and intereſt, a greater than was due to them.

When Montrevil came to the army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive thoſe who had been perſuaded to believe, that a peremptory and obſtinate inſiſting upon the alteration of the Church-government (the expectation and aſſurance whereof had indeed firſt enabled them

them to make that expedition) would at laſt prevail over the King's ſpirit, as it had done in Scotland, he found thoſe in whom the power, at leaſt the command of the army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the committee which preſided in the counſels, rather deviſing and projecting expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he ſhould believe that they ſtayed for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of Scotland, who was daily expected, before they would declare their reſolution; not that they were, for the preſent, without one. They were very much pleaſed that the King offered, and deſired to come to them, and remain in the army with them, if he might be ſecured of a good reception for himſelf, and for his ſervants who ſhould attend him, and his friends who ſhould reſort to him; and the principal officers of the army ſpoke of that, as a thing they ſo much wiſhed, that it could be in nobody's power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greateſt power in the conduct of the moſt ſecret counſels, took pains to be thought to have much franker reſolutions in that particular, than they thought yet ſeaſonable to expreſs in direct undertakings; and employed thoſe who were known to be moſt entirely truſted by them, and ſome of thoſe who had been recommended to him by the King, to aſſure him that he might confidently adviſe his Majeſty to repair to the army, upon the terms himſelf had propoſed; and that they would ſend a good body of their horſe, to meet his Majeſty at any place he ſhould appoint to conduct him in ſafety to them. Upon which encouragement Montreuil prepared a paper to be ſigned by himſelf, and ſent to the King as his engagement; and ſhewed it to thoſe who had been moſt clear to him in their expreſſions of

duty

duty to the King; which, being approved by them, he ſent by the other who had appeared to him to be truſted by thoſe who were in the higheſt truſt to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excuſed themſelves for being ſo reſerved towards him, as being neceſſary in that conjuncture of their affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the moſt hoſtile jealouſy between the Independent army and them. When the paper was likewiſe returned to him with approbation after their peruſal, he ſent it to the King; which paper is here faithfully tranſlated out of the original.

The paper Montrevil ſent to the King, being a promiſe for the Scots receiving the King, April 1ſt.

" I do promiſe in the name of the King and Queen " Regent, (my maſter and miſtreſs), and by virtue of the " powers that I have from their Majeſties, that if the " King of Great Britain ſhall put himſelf into the Scot- " tiſh army, he ſhall be there received as their natural " Sovereign; and that he ſhall be with them in all " freedom of his conſcience and honour; and that all " ſuch of his ſubjects and ſervants as ſhall be there " with him, ſhall be ſafely and honourably protected in " their perſons; and that the ſaid Scots ſhall really and " effectually join with the ſaid King of Great Britain, " and alſo receive all ſuch perſons as ſhall come in unto " him, and join with them for his Majeſty's preſerva- " tion: and that they ſhall protect all his Majeſty's party " to the utmoſt of their power, as his Majeſty will com- " mand all thoſe under his obedience to do the like " to them; and that they ſhall employ their armies " and forces, to aſſiſt his Majeſty in the procuring of a " happy and well grounded peace, for the good of his " Majeſty and his ſaid kingdoms, and in recovery of his " Majeſty's juſt rights. In witneſs whereof I have here- " unto put my hand and ſeal this firſt of April 1646.

" *De Montrevil, Réſident pour ſa Majeſté* " *très Chrêtienne en Ecoſſe.*"

Many

Many days had not paſſed after the ſending that expreſs, when he found ſuch chagrin, and tergiverſation, in ſome of thoſe he had treated with, one man denying what he had ſaid to himſelf, and another diſclaiming the having given ſuch a man authority to ſay that from him which the other ſtill avowed he had done, that Montrevil thought himſelf obliged, with all ſpeed, to advertiſe his Majeſty of the foul change, and to diſſuade him from venturing his perſon in the power of ſuch men: but the expreſs who carried that letter was taken priſoner; and though he made his eſcape, and preſerved his letter, he could not proceed in his journey; and was compelled to return to him who ſent him; and by that time, he having informed the committee, what he had done to vindicate himſelf from being made a property by them to betray the King, and expreſſed a deep reſentment of the injury done to the King his maſter, and to himſelf, in their receding from what they had promiſed, they appeared again to be of another temper, and very much to deſire his Majeſty's preſence in the army; and to that purpoſe, they promiſed, as an unanimous reſolution, "that they would ſend a conſiderable "party of horſe to meet his Majeſty at Burton upon "Trent; for that they could not advance farther with "the whole party; but that ſome horſe ſhould be ſent "to wait upon his Majeſty at Boſworth, which is the "middle way between Burton and Harborough, whither "they hoped his own horſe would be able to convey "him ſecurely;" they deſired "the King to appoint "the day, and they would not fail to be there." They wiſhed, "that when their troops ſhould meet his Ma"jeſty, he would tell them that he was going into Scot"land; upon which, they would find themſelves obliged "to attend him into their army, without being able to "diſcover any thing of a treaty; of which the Parlia"ment

" ment ought yet to receive no advertiſement:" of all which Montrevil gave the King a very full and plain narration, together with what he had written before, by his letter of the 15th of the ſame April, to Secretary Nicholas; and, in the ſame letter, he informed his Majeſty, " that they did not deſire that any of thoſe " forces which had followed the King's party, ſhould " join with them, no nor ſo much as thoſe horſe that " ſhould have accompanied his Majeſty, ſhould remain " in their army with him: that they had with much " ado agreed, that the two Princes" (for his Majeſty, upon Prince Rupert's humble ſubmiſſion, was reconciled to both his nephews) " might follow the King, with " ſuch other of his ſervants as were not excepted from " pardon; and that they might ſtay with his Majeſty " until the Parliament of England ſhould demand " them; in which caſe they ſhould not refuſe to de- " liver them; but that they would firſt furniſh them " with ſome means of getting beyond ſeas."

The King had propoſed, " that there might be a " union between them and the Marquis of Mountroſe; " and that his forces might be joined with their army;" which they had ſaid, " they could not conſent to, with " reference to the perſon of Mountroſe; who, after ſo " much blood ſpilt by him of many of the greateſt fa- " milies, they thought could not be ſafe among them:" whereupon the King had declared, that " he would " ſend him his extraordinary ambaſſador into France;" which they appeared not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which Montrevil likewiſe gave an account in the ſame letter: " that they could " not give their conſent that the Marquis of Mountroſe " ſhould go ambaſſador into France, but into any other " place, he might; and that they again, without limit-

" ing

" ing the time, inſiſted upon ſettling the Preſbyte-
" rian government;" and he concluded his letter with theſe words, " I will ſay no more but this, that his Ma-
" jeſty and you know the Scots better than I do: I re-
" preſent theſe things nakedly to you, as I am obliged
" to do; I have not taken upon me the boldneſs to
" give any counſel to his Majeſty; yet if he hath any
" other refuge, or means to make better conditions, I
" think he ought not to accept of theſe; but if he ſees
" all things deſperate every where elſe, and that he and
" his ſervants cannot be ſecure with his Parliament of
" England, I dare yet aſſure him, that though he and
" his ſervants may not be here with all that ſatisfaction
" perhaps which he might deſire, yet he eſpecially ſhall
" be as ſecure as poſſible."

In another letter dated the next day after (the 16th of April) to the ſame Secretary, he hath theſe words; " I have orders from the deputies of Scotland to aſſure
" you, that they will not herein fail," (which related to ſending the horſe to meet his Majeſty,) " as ſoon as they
" ſhall know his day; and that the King ſhall be re-
" ceived into the army as hath been promiſed; and
" that his conſcience ſhall not be forced." And in the laſt letter, which his Majeſty or the Secretary received from him, and which was dated the 20th of April 1646, there are theſe words: " They tell me that they will do
" more than can be expreſſed; but let not his Majeſty
" hope for any more than I ſend him word of; that he
" may not be deceived; and let him take his meaſures
" aright; for certainly the enterpriſe is full of danger:" yet, in the ſame letter, he ſays, " the diſpoſition of the
" chiefs of the Scottiſh army is ſuch as the King can
" deſire; they begin to draw off their troops towards
" Burton, and the hindering his Majeſty from falling

" into

"into the hands of the Engliſh is of ſo great impor-
"tance to them, that it cannot be believed but that they
"will do all that lies in their power to hinder it."

This was the proceeding of Monſieur Montrevil in that whole tranſaction; and if he were too ſanguine upon his firſt converſation with the officers of the Scottiſh army, and ſome of the committee, and when he ſigned that engagement upon the firſt of April, he made haſte to retract that confidence, and was in all his diſpatches afterwards phlegmatic enough; and, after his Majeſty had put himſelf into their hands, he did honeſtly and ſtoutly charge all the particular perſons with the promiſes and engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal ſenſible of the indignity that was offered to that Crown in the violation of thoſe promiſes and engagements; which was the reaſon of his being commanded to return home, as ſoon as the King came to Newcaſtle; leſt his too keen reſentment might irritate the Scots, and make it appear to the Parliament how far France was engaged in that whole negociation; which the Cardinal had no mind ſhould appear to the world: and there can be no doubt, but that the cautions and animadverſions which the King received from Montrevil after his engagement, would have diverted him from that enterpriſe, if his Majeſty had diſcerned any other courſe to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he ſaw he muſt undergo with the Scots; but he was clearly deſtitute of any other refuge. Every day brought the news of the loſs of ſome garriſon; and as Oxford was already blocked up at a diſtance, by thoſe horſe which Fairfax had ſent out of the Weſt to that purpoſe, or to wait upon the King, and follow him cloſe, if he ſhould remove out of Oxford; ſo he had ſoon reduced Exeter,

and

and ſome other garriſons in Devonſhire. The Governors then, when there was no viſible and apparent hope of being relieved, thought that they might deliver up their garriſons before they were preſſed with the laſt extremities, that they might obtain the better conditions; and yet it was obſerved that better and more honourable conditions were not given to any, than to thoſe who kept the places they were truſted with, till they had not one day's victual left; of which we ſhall obſerve more hereafter. By this means Fairfax was within three days of Oxford before the King left it, or fully reſolved what to do.

His Majeſty had before ſent to two eminent commanders of name, who had blocked up the town at a diſtance, "that if they would paſs their words," (how ſlender a ſecurity ſoever, from ſuch men who had broken ſo many oaths, for the ſafety of the King,) "that they "would immediately conduct him to the Parliament, he "would have put himſelf into their hands;" for he was yet perſuaded to think ſo well of the city of London, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himſelf there: but thoſe officers would ſubmit to no ſuch engagements; and great care was taken to have ſtrict guards round about London, that he might not get thither. What ſhould the King do? There was one thing moſt formidable to him, which he was reſolved to avoid, that was, to be incloſed in Oxford, and ſo to be given up, or taken, when the town ſhould be ſurrendered, as a priſoner to the Independents' army; which he was advertiſed, from all hands, would treat him very barbarouſly.

In this perplexity, he choſe rather to commit himſelf to the Scottiſh army; which yet he did not truſt ſo far as to give them notice of his journey, by ſending for a party

party of their horſe to meet him, as they had proffered; but early in the morning, upon the 27th day of April, he went out of Oxford, attended only by John Aſhburnham, and a Divine, (one Hudſon), who underſtood the by-ways as well as the common, and was indeed a very ſkilful guide. In this equipage he left Oxford on a Monday, leaving thoſe of his Council in Oxford who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the Scottiſh army, or get privately into London, and lie there concealed, till he might chooſe that which was beſt; and it was generally believed, that he had not within himſelf at that time a fixed reſolution what he would do; which was the more credited becauſe it was nine days after his leaving Oxford, before it was known where the King was; inſomuch as Fairfax, who came before it the fifth day after his Majeſty was gone, was ſate down, and had made his circumvallation about Oxford, before he knew that the King was in the Scottiſh army; but the King had waſted that time in ſeveral places, whereof ſome were gentlemen's houſes, (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of), purpoſely to be informed of the condition of the Marquis of Mountroſe, and to find ſome ſecure paſſage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly deſire; but in the end, went into the Scottiſh army before Newark, and ſent for Montrevil to come to him.

The King leaves Oxford April 27, 1646.

Puts himſelf into the Scottiſh army before Newark.

It was very early in the morning when the King went to the General's lodging, and diſcovered himſelf to him; who either was, or ſeemed to be, exceedingly ſurpriſed and confounded at his Majeſty's preſence; and knew not what to ſay; but preſently gave notice of it to the committee, who were no leſs perplexed. An expreſs was preſently ſent to the Parliament at Weſtminſter, to inform them of the unexpected news, as a thing the Scots

had not the leaſt imagination of. The Parliament were ſo diſordered with the intelligence, that at firſt they reſolved to command their General to raiſe the ſiege before Oxford, and to march with all expedition to Newark; but the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London diverted them from that, by aſſuring them, "that all "their orders would meet with an abſolute obedience in "their army;" ſo they made a ſhort diſpatch to them, in which it was evident that they believed the King had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying, "that they ſhould ſhortly re-"ceive farther direction from them;" and in the mean time, "that they ſhould carefully watch that his Ma-"jeſty did not diſpoſe himſelf to go ſome whither elſe."

Their manner of treating his Majeſty.

The great care in the army was, that there might be only reſpect and good manners ſhewed towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never aſked the word of him, or any orders, nor, willingly, ſuffered the officers of the army to reſort to, or to have any diſcourſe with his Majeſty. Montrevil was ill looked upon, as the man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their conſent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had paſſed between them, what they had promiſed, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehenſion, that Fairfax might be forthwith appointed to decline all other enterpriſes, and to bring himſelf near the Scottiſh army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord Bellaſis to ſurrender Newark, that the Scots might march northward; which they reſolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for ſome months longer

The King orders Newark to be ſurrendered, whereupon the Scottiſh army marches northward with the King to Newcaſtle.

from

from that enemy, upon honourable conditions, that army with great expedition marched towards Newcaſtle; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was ſtill the ſame; and great ſtrictneſs uſed that he might not confer with any man who was not well known to them, much leſs receive letters from any.

It was an obſervation in that time, that the firſt publiſhing of extraordinary news was from the pulpit; and by the preacher's text, and his manner of diſcourſe upon it, the auditors might judge, and commonly foreſaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The firſt ſermon that was preached before the King, after the army roſe from Newark to march northwards, was upon the 19th chapter of the 2d Book of Samuel, the 41ſt, 42d, and 43d verſes.

41. *And behold, all the men of Iſrael came to the King, and ſaid unto the King, Why have our brethren the men of Judah ſtolen thee away, and have brought the King and his houſehold, and all David's men with him over Jordan?*

42. *And all the men of Judah anſwered the men of Iſrael, Becauſe the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's coſt? or hath he given us any gift?*

43. *And the men of Iſrael anſwered the men of Judah, and ſaid, We have ten parts in the King, and we have alſo more right in David than ye: why then did ye deſpiſe us that our advice ſhould not be firſt had in bringing back our King? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Iſrael.*

Upon which words, the preacher gave men cauſe to believe, that now they had gotten their King, they reſolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majeſty came no ſooner to Newcaſtle, than both Monſieur Montrevil was reſtrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. Aſhburnham was adviſed "to "ſhift for himſelf, or elſe that he ſhould be delivered "up to the Parliament;" and both the one and the other were come to Paris when the Queen ſent thoſe lords to haſten the Prince's remove from Jerſey.

Where Montrevil was reſtrained from him.

When thoſe lords, with their great train, came to Jerſey, which was towards the end of June, they brought with them a letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which ſhe told him, "that ſhe was now fully ſatisfied, "from the intelligence ſhe had from Newcaſtle and "London, that he could not make any longer reſidence "in Jerſey without apparent danger of falling into the "enemy's hands; and that if he ſhould continue there, "all poſſible attempts would be ſuddenly made, as well "by treachery as by force, to get his perſon into their "power; and therefore her Majeſty did poſitively re-"quire him, to give immediate obedience to the King's "commands, mentioned in the letter which he had "lately ſent by Sir Dudley Wyat," (which is ſet out before), "and reiterated in a letter which ſhe had ſince "received from the King by Monſieur Montrevil." Her Majeſty ſaid, "that ſhe had the greateſt aſſurance "from the Crown of France, that poſſibly could be "given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to "continue there, and to depart from thence, at his "pleaſure; and ſhe engaged her own word, that when-"ever his Council ſhould find it fit for him to go out "of France, ſhe would never oppoſe it; and that dur-"ing his reſidence in that kingdom, all matters of im-

The Lord Jermyn and other lords arrive at Jerſey, about the end of June, from the Queen, to bring the Prince into France.

"portance

" portance which might concern himſelf, or relate to his " Majeſty's affairs, ſhould be debated and reſolved by " himſelf and the Council, in ſuch manner as they ought " to have been, if he had continued in England, or in " Jerſey:" and concluded, " that he ſhould make all " poſſible haſte to her."

The lords, which arrived with this diſpatch from her Majeſty, had no imagination that there would have been any queſtion of his Highneſs's compliance with the Queen's command; and therefore, as ſoon as they had kiſſed the Prince's hand, which was in the afternoon, they deſired that the Council might preſently be called; and when they came together, the Lords Jermyn, Digby, and Wentworth, being likewiſe preſent, and ſitting in the Council, they deſired the Prince " that his mo- " ther's letter might be read; and then, ſince they con- " ceived there could be no debate upon his Highneſs's " yielding obedience to the command of the King and " Queen, that they might only conſider of the day " when he might begin his journey, and of the order he " would obſerve in it." The lords of the Council repreſented to the Prince, " that they were the only perſons " that were accountable to the King, and to the king- " dom, for any reſolution his Highneſs ſhould take, and " for the conſequence thereof; and that the other lords " who were preſent had no title to deliver their ad- " vice, or to be preſent at the debate, they being in no " degree reſponſible for what his Highneſs ſhould re- " ſolve to do; and therefore deſired that the whole mat- " ter might be debated; the ſtate of the King's preſent " condition underſtood as far as it might be; and the " reaſons conſidered which made it counſellable for his " Highneſs to repair into France, and what might be " ſaid againſt it; and the rather, becauſe it was very no-

Debates in the Prince's Council concerning his going.

" torious that the King had given no poſitive direction " in the point, but upon a ſuppoſition that the Prince " could not remain ſecure in Jerſey; which was like- " wiſe the ground of the Queen's laſt command; and " which they believed had no foundation of reaſon; and " that his reſidence there might be very unqueſtionably " ſafe." This begot ſome warmth and contradiction between perſons; inſomuch as the Prince thought it very neceſſary to ſuſpend the debate till the next day, to the end that by ſeveral and private conferences together between the lords who came from Paris, and thoſe who were in Jerſey, they might convert, or confirm, each other in the ſame opinions; at leaſt that the next debate might be free from paſſion and unkindneſs; and ſo the Council roſe, and the ſeveral lords betook themſelves to uſe the ſame arguments, or ſuch as they thought more agreeable to the ſeveral perſons, as the Lord Digby had before done to his friend, and with the ſame ſucceſs.

The Lord Capel delivers his opinion againſt it.

The next day when they were called together, the Lord Capel gave an account of all that had paſſed with the Queen from the time that the Lord Colepepper and he came thither; and " that the reaſons they had car- " ried from the Prince had ſo far prevailed with the " Queen, that her Majeſty reſolved to take no final re- " ſolution till ſhe received farther advertiſement of the " King's pleaſure; and he did not think that the informa- " tion ſhe had received from Monſieur Montrevil had " weight enough to produce the quick reſolution it had " done: that he thought it ſtill moſt abſolutely neceſ- " ſary, to receive the King's poſitive command before " the Prince ſhould remove out of his Majeſty's own " dominions; there being no ſhadow of cauſe to ſuſ- " pect his ſecurity there: that he had then offered to " the

" the Queen, that he would himſelf make a journey to " Newcaſtle to receive his Majeſty's commands; and " that he now made the ſame offer to the Prince: and " becauſe it did appear that his Majeſty was very ſtrict- " ly guarded, and that perſons did not eaſily find acceſs " to him, and that his own perſon might be ſeized upon " in his journey thither, or his ſtay there, or his return " back, and ſo his Highneſs might be diſappointed of " the information he expected, and remain ſtill in the " ſame uncertainty as to a reſolution, he did propoſe, " and conſent to, as his opinion, that if he did not re- " turn again to Jerſey within the ſpace of one month, the " Prince ſhould reſolve to remove into France, if in the " mean time ſuch preparatories were made there, as he " thought were neceſſary, and were yet defective."

He ſaid, " he had been lately at Paris by the Prince's " command; and had received many graces from the " Queen, who had vouchſafed to impart all her own " reaſons for the Prince's remove, and the grounds for " the confidence ſhe had of the affections of France: " but, that he did ſtill wonder, if the Court of France " had ſo great a deſire, as was pretended, that the " Prince of Wales ſhould repair thither, that in the " two months time his Highneſs had been in Jerſey, " they had never ſent a gentleman to ſee him, and to " invite him to come thither; nor had theſe who came " now from the Queen, brought ſo much as a paſs for " him to come into France: that he could not but ob- " ſerve, that all we had hitherto propoſed to ourſelves " from France had proved in no degree anſwerable to " our expectations; as the five thouſand foot, which " we had expected in the Weſt before the Prince came " from thence; and that we had more reaſon to be jea- " lous now than ever, ſince it had been by the advice of

" France, that the King had now put himſelf into the " hands of the Scots; and therefore we ought to be the " more watchful in the diſpoſing the perſon of the " Prince by their advice likewiſe." He concluded, " that he could not give his advice, or conſent, that the " Prince ſhould repair into France, till the King's pleaſure " might be known, or ſuch other circumſtances might be " provided in France, as had been hitherto neglected."

The arguments of the Lord Digby and Lord Jermyn for it.

The Lord Digby and the Lord Jermyn wondered very much, " that there ſhould be any doubt of the af- " fections of France, or that it ſhould be believed that " the Queen could be deceived, or not well enough in- " formed in that particular:" they related many particulars which had paſſed between the Cardinal and them in private conferences, and the great profeſſions of affection he made to the King. They ſaid, " that the " ambaſſador who was now appointed to go thither " was choſen by the Queen herſelf, and had no other " inſtructions but what ſhe had given him; and that " he was not to ſtay there above a month; at the end " of which he was to denounce war againſt the Parlia- " ment, if they did not comply with ſuch propoſitions " as he made; and ſo to return; and then, that there " ſhould be an army of thirty thouſand men immedi- " ately tranſported into England, with the Prince of " Wales in the head of them; that the ambaſſador was " already gone from Paris, but was not to embark till " he ſhould firſt receive advertiſement that the Prince of " Wales was landed in France; for that France had no " reaſon to intereſt themſelves ſo far in the King's quar- " rel, if the Prince of Wales ſhould refuſe to venture his " perſon with them; or, it may be, engage againſt them " upon another intereſt."

They therefore beſought the Prince, and the lords, " that

" that they would conſider well, whether he would diſ-
" appoint his father and himſelf of ſo great fruit as they
" were even ready to gather, and of which they could
" not be diſappointed but by unſeaſonable jealouſies of
" the integrity of France, and by delaying to give them
" ſatisfaction in the remove of the Prince from Jerſey."

Theſe arguments, preſſed with all the aſſurance imaginable, by perſons of that near truſt and confidence with the King, who were not like to be deceived themſelves, nor to have any purpoſe to deceive the Prince, wrought ſo far with his Highneſs, that he declared, " he
" would comply with the commands of the Queen, and
" forthwith remove into France;" which being reſolved, The Prince reſolves to go into France. he wiſhed " there might be no more debate upon that
" point, but that they would all prepare to go with him,
" and that there might be as great an unity in their
" counſels, as had hitherto always been."

This ſo poſitive declaration of the Prince of his own reſolution made all farther arguments againſt it not only uſeleſs but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that point, yet every man of the Council, the Lord Colepepper only excepted, beſought his Highneſs, "that All but one of his Council diſſent, and ſtay behind.
" he would give them his pardon, if they did not far-
" ther wait upon him; for they conceived their com-
" miſſion to be now at an end; and that they could not
" aſſume any authority by it to themſelves, if they
" waited upon him into France; nor expect that their
" counſels there ſhould be hearkened unto, when they
" were now rejected." And ſo, after ſome ſharp replies between the lords of different judgments, which made the Council break up the ſooner, they who reſolved not to go into France took their leaves of the Prince, and kiſſed his hand; his Highneſs then declaring, " that he
" would be gone the next day by five of the clock in
" the

" the morning," though the croſs winds, and want of ſome proviſions which were neceſſary for the journey, detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the diſſenting lords every day waited upon him, and were received by him very graciouſly; his Highneſs well knowing and expreſſing to them a confidence in their affections, and that they would be ſure to wait upon him, whenever his occaſions ſhould be ready for their ſervice. But between them and the other lords there grew by degrees ſo great a ſtrangeneſs, that, the laſt day, they did not ſo much as ſpeak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had preſumed to diſſent from what her Majeſty had ſo poſitively commanded. And though they neither loved their perſons, nor cared for their company, and without doubt, if they had gone into France, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that conjuncture, they believed that the diſſent and ſeparation of all thoſe perſons who were truſted by the King with the perſon of the Prince, would blaſt their counſel, and weigh down the ſingle poſitive determination of the Queen herſelf.

On the other ſide, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to perſons ſo entruſted; but that in truth many ill conſequences would reſult from that ſudden departure of the Prince out of the King's dominions, where his reſidence might have been ſecure in reſpect of the affairs of England; where, beſides the garriſons of Scilly and Pendennis, (which might always be relieved by ſea), there remained ſtill within his Majeſty's obedience, Oxford, Worceſter, Wallingford, Ludlow, and ſome other places of leſs name; which, upon any diviſions among themſelves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turn-

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ed the ſcale: nor did they know, of what ill conſequence it might be to the King, that in ſuch a conjuncture the Prince ſhould be removed, when it might be more counſellable that he ſhould appear in Scotland.

Moreover, Mr. Aſhburnham's opinion, which he had delivered to the Lord Capel, wrought very much upon them; for that a man ſo entirely truſted by the King, who had ſeen him as lately as any body, ſhould bring no directions from his Majeſty to his ſon, and that he ſhould believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to ſtay in Jerſey than to remove into France, till his Majeſty's pleaſure was better underſtood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

But there was another reaſon that prevailed with thoſe who had been made privy to it, and which, out of duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publiſh, or inſiſt upon; it was the inſtructions given to Bellievre, (and which too much manifeſted the irreſolution her Majeſty had), not to inſiſt upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that ambaſſador was required to do all he could to perſuade the Preſbyterians to join with the King's party, and not to inſiſt upon the deſtruction of the Church; yet if he found that could not be compaſſed, he was to preſs, as the advice of the King his maſter, his Majeſty to part with the Church, and to ſatisfy the Preſbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his wife, and of his own party; which method was afterwards obſerved and purſued by Bellievre; which thoſe lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to thoſe counſels that had begun, and were to carry on that confuſion.

Within a day or two after the Prince's departure from Jerſey, the Earl of Berkſhire left it likewiſe, and went for

for England; the Lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remained together in Jerſey to expect the King's pleaſure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majeſty's ſervice; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majeſty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the ſincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewiſe waited upon the Prince into France, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted thoſe violent preſſures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more diſquiet than he ſuffered from all the inſolence of his enemies.

In a word, if the King's fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixed rules of policy and diſcretion, and if the current towards his deſtruction had not run with ſuch a torrent, as carried down all obſtructions of ſobriety and wiſdom, and made the confuſion inevitable, it is very probable that this ſo ſudden remove of the Prince from Jerſey, with all the circumſtances thereof, might have been looked upon, and cenſured with ſeverity, as an action that ſwerved from that prudence which by the fundamental rules of policy had been long eſtabliſhed; but by the fatal and prodigious calamities which followed, all counſels of wiſe and unwiſe men proving equally unſucceſsful, the memory of what had paſſed before grew to be the leſs thought upon and conſidered.

Tranſactions relating to the King in the Scottiſh army.

Whilſt theſe things were thus tranſacted in other parts, the King remained yet in the Scottiſh army; that people behaving themſelves in ſuch a manner, that moſt men believed they would never have parted with his Majeſty till a full peace had been made. The Parliament made many ſharp inſtances, "that the King "might be delivered into their hands; and that the "Scottiſh

"Scottiſh army would return into their own country, "having done what they were ſent for, and the war "being at an end." To which the Council of Scotland ſeemed to anſwer with courage enough, and inſiſted moſt on thoſe arguments of the King's legal rights, which had been, in all his Majeſty's declarations, urged againſt the Parliament's proceedings; and which indeed could never be anſwered; and as much condemned them, as the Parliament.

In the mean time, though the King received all outward reſpect, he was in truth in the condition of a priſoner; no ſervant whom he could truſt ſuffered to come to him; and though many perſons of quality who had ſerved the King in the war, when they ſaw the reſolute anſwers made by the Scots, "that they neither would "nor could compel their King to return to the Parlia- "ment, if his Majeſty had no mind to do ſo," repaired to Newcaſtle, where his Majeſty was, yet none of them were ſuffered to ſpeak to him; nor could he receive from, or ſend any letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the Scots obſerved all diſtances, and performed all the ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great profeſſion to him of their duty and good purpoſes, "which they "ſaid they would manifeſt as ſoon as it ſhould be ſea- "ſonable; and then his ſervants and friends ſhould re- "pair to him with all liberty, and be well received:" and as they endeavoured to perſuade the King to expect this from them, ſo they prevailed with many officers of that army, and ſome of the nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to diſcover their intentions.

The King ſends to the Marquis of Mountroſe to diſband; which he did.

Thus they prevailed with the King to ſend his poſitive orders to the Marquis of Mountroſe, who had indeed

deed done wonders, to lay down his arms, and to leave the kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majeſty; and this was done with ſo much earneſtneſs, and by a particular meſſenger known and truſted, that the Marquis obeyed, and tranſported himſelf into France.

They employ Henderſon to the King to diſpute with him concerning Church-government.

Then they employed their Alexander Henderſon, and their other Clergy, to perſuade the King to conſent to the extirpation of Epiſcopacy in England, as he had in Scotland; and it was and is ſtill believed, that if his Majeſty would have been induced to have ſatisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a party in the Parliament at Weſtminſter to have been ſatisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declared for the King, and have preſently joined with the loyal party in all places for his Majeſty's defence. But the King was too conſcientious to buy his peace at ſo profane and ſacrilegious a price as was demanded, and he was ſo much too hard for Mr. Henderſon in the argumentation, (as appears by the papers that paſſed between them, which were ſhortly after communicated to the world), that the old man himſelf was ſo far convinced and converted, that he had a very deep ſenſe of the miſchief he had himſelf been the author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his neareſt friends and confidents; and died of grief, and heart-broken, within a very ſhort time after he departed from his Majeſty.

Mr. Henderſon dies ſhortly after.

Whilſt the King ſtayed at Newcaſtle, Bellievre the French ambaſſador, who was ſent from Paris after the Prince arrived there, and by whom the Cardinal had promiſed to preſs the Parliament ſo imperiouſly, and to denounce a war againſt them if they refuſed to yield to what was reaſonable towards an agreement with the King,

King, came to his Majeſty, after he had ſpent ſome time at London in all the low application to the Parliament that can be imagined, without any mention of the King with any tenderneſs, as if his intereſt were at all conſidered by the King his maſter, and without any conſultation with thoſe of his Majeſty's party; who were then in London, and would have been very ready to have adviſed with him. But he choſe rather to converſe with the principal leaders of the Preſbyterian party in the Parliament, and with the Scottiſh commiſſioners; from whoſe information he took all his meaſures; and they aſſured him, "that nothing could be done for the "King, except he would give up the Church; extirpate "Epiſcopacy; and grant all the lands belonging to ca-"thedral churches to ſuch uſes as the Parliament ſhould "adviſe;" ſo that, when he came to the King, he preſſed him very earneſtly to that condeſcenſion. Bellievre's negociations at London, and with the King afterwards at Newcaſtle.

But, beſides the matter propoſed, in which his Majeſty was unmoveable, he had no eſteem of any thing the ambaſſador ſaid to him, having too late diſcovered the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already ſaid, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and aſſurance that his Majeſty ſhould be well received in the Scottiſh army, and that they would be firm to his intereſt, his Majeſty had ventured to put himſelf into their hands; and he was no ſooner there, than all they with whom Montrevil had treated, diſavowed their undertaking what the King had been informed of; and though the envoy did avow, and juſtify, what he had informed the King, to the faces of the perſons who had given their engagements, the Cardinal choſe rather to recall and diſcountenance the miniſter of that Crown, than to enter into any expoſtulation with the Parliament, or the Scots.

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The ambaſſador, by an expreſs, quickly informed the Cardinal that the King was too reſerved in giving the Parliament ſatisfaction; and therefore wiſhed, "that "ſomebody might be ſent over, who was like to have "ſo much credit with his Majeſty as to perſuade him "to what was neceſſary for his ſervice." Upon which, the Queen, who was never adviſed by thoſe who either underſtood or valued his true intereſt, conſulted with thoſe about her; and ſent Sir William Davenant, an honeſt man, and a witty, but in all reſpects inferior to ſuch a truſt, with a letter of credit to the King, (who knew the perſon well enough under another character than was like to give him much credit in the argument in which he was inſtructed), although her Majeſty had likewiſe other ways declared her opinion to his Majeſty, "that he ſhould part with the Church for his peace and "ſecurity."

Sir William Davenant ſent from the Queen to the King, to perſuade him to give up the Church.

Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the French ambaſſador, eaſy admiſſion to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſe ſcruples of conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propoſed; and, among other things, ſaid, "it was the "advice and opinion of all his friends;" his Majeſty aſking, "what friends?" and he anſwering, "that it "was the opinion of the Lord Jermyn," the King ſaid, "that the Lord Jermyn did not underſtand any thing of "the Church." The other ſaid, "the Lord Colepepper

"was

" was of the ſame mind." The King ſaid, Colepepper had no religion: and aſked, " whether the Chancellor " of the Exchequer was of that mind?" to which he anſwered, " he did not know; for that he was not there, " and had deſerted the Prince:" and thereupon ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt the Chancellor: to which the King ſaid, " the Chancellor was an honeſt man, and would " never deſert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church; " and that he was ſorry he was not with his ſon; but " that his wife was miſtaken." Davenant then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other man; and forbid him to preſume to come again into his preſence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and returned into France, to give an account of his ill ſucceſs to thoſe who ſent him.

As all men's expectations from the courage and activity of the French ambaſſador in England were thus fruſtrated, by his mean and low carriage both towards the Parliament and at Newcaſtle, ſo all the profeſſions which had been made of reſpect and tenderneſs towards the Prince of Wales, when his perſon ſhould once appear in France, were as unworthily diſappointed. The Prince had been above two months with the Queen his mother, before any notice was taken of his being in France, by the leaſt meſſage ſent from the Court to congratulate his arrival there; but that time was ſpent in debating the formalities of his reception; how the King

The Prince's treatment when he came to France.

ſhould treat him? and how he ſhould behave himſelf towards the King? whether he ſhould take place of Monſieur the King's brother? and what kind of ceremonies ſhould be obſerved between the Prince of Wales and his uncle the Duke of Orleans? and many ſuch other particulars; in all which they were reſolved to give the law themſelves; and which had been fitter to have been adjuſted in Jerſey, before he put himſelf into their power, than diſputed afterwards in the Court of France; from which there could be then no appeal.

There can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the ſole miniſter of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be ſaid, did think the preſence of the Prince there of the higheſt importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his power, to perſuade the Queen that it was as neceſſary for the affairs of the King her huſband, and of her Majeſty: but now that work was over, and the perſon of the Prince brought into their power, without the leaſt public act or ceremony to invite him thither, it was no leſs his care that the Parliament in England, and the officers of the army, whom he feared more than the Parliament, ſhould believe that the Prince came thither without their wiſh, and in truth againſt their will; that the Crown of France could not refuſe to interpoſe, and mediate, to make up the difference between the Parliament and the Scottiſh nation, and that the kingdoms might be reſtored to peace; but that when they had performed that office of mediation, they had performed their function; and that they would no more preſume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the Scots, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that ſince the Prince had come to the Queen his mother, from which they could not reaſonably reſtrain

ſtrain him, it ſhould not be attended with any prejudice to the peace of England; nor ſhould he there find any means or aſſiſtance to diſturb it. And it was believed by thoſe who ſtood at no great diſtance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the foundation for that friendſhip which was ſhortly after built up between him and Cromwell, by promiſing, "that they ſhould receive "leſs inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in France, "than if he were in any other part of Europe." And it can hardly be believed, with how little reſpect they treated him during the whole time of his ſtay there. They were very careful that he might not be looked upon as ſupported by them either according to his dignity, or for the maintenance of his family; but a mean addition to the penſion which the Queen had before, was made to her Majeſty, without any mention of the Prince her ſon; who was wholly to depend upon her bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own ſervants; that they likewiſe might depend only upon the Queen's goodneſs and favour, and ſo behave themſelves accordingly.

When the Scots had ſecured the peace and quiet of their own country, by diſbanding the forces under the Marquis of Mountroſe, and by his tranſporting himſelf beyond the ſeas, and by putting to death ſeveral perſons of name who had followed the Marquis, and had been taken priſoners, among whom Sir Robert Spotſwood was one, a worthy, honeſt, loyal gentleman, and as wiſe a man as that nation had at that time, (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that kingdom, in the place of the Earl of Lanrick, who was then in arms againſt him; which, it may be, was a principal cauſe that the other was put to death:) and when they had with ſuch ſolemnity and reſolution made it plain and evident, that

they could not, without the moſt barefaced violation of their faith and allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Chriſtian religion, ever deliver up their native King, who had put himſelf into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, againſt his own will and conſent: and when the Earl of Lowden had publickly declared to the two Houſes of Parliament in a conference, "that an eternal infamy would lie upon them, and the "whole nation, if they ſhould deliver the perſon of the "King; the ſecuring of which was equally their duty, "as it was the Parliament's, and the diſpoſal of his per-"ſon in order to that ſecurity did equally belong to "them as to the Parliament;" however, they ſaid, "they "would uſe all the perſuaſion, and all the importunity "they could with the King that his Majeſty might "yield, and conſent to the propoſitions the Parliament "had ſent to him."

The Parliament had, upon the firſt notice of the King's being arrived in the Scottiſh army, ſent a poſitive command to the committee of both kingdoms reſiding in the Scottiſh army, that the perſon of the King ſhould be forthwith ſent to Warwick-caſtle; but the Scots, who apprehended they could not be long without ſuch an order, had, within two days after his Majeſty's coming to them, and after he had cauſed Newark to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards Newcaſtle; and were arrived there before they received that order for ſending his Majeſty to Warwick; which proceeding of theirs pleaſed his Majeſty very well, among many other things which diſpleaſed him; and perſuaded him, that though they would obſerve their own method, they would, in the end, do ſomewhat for his ſervice.

Upon the receiving that order, they renewed their pro-

profeſſions to the Parliament of obſerving punctually all that had been agreed between them; and beſought them, "that ſince they had promiſed the King, before "he left Oxford, to ſend propoſitions to him, they "would now do it; and ſaid, that if he refuſed to com- "ply with them, to which they ſhould perſuade him, "they knew what they were to do." Then they adviſed the King, and prevailed with him, to ſend orders to the governor of Oxford to make conditions, and to ſurrender that place (where his ſon the Duke of York was, and all the Council) into the hands of Fairfax, who with his army then beſieged them; and likewiſe to publiſh a general order, (which they cauſed to be printed), "that "all governors of any garriſons for his Majeſty ſhould "immediately deliver them up to the Parliament upon "fair and honourable conditions, ſince his Majeſty re- "ſolved in all things to be adviſed by his Parliament; "and till this was done, they ſaid, they could not de- "clare themſelves in that manner for his Majeſty's ſer- "vice and intereſt, as they reſolved to do; for that they "were, by their treaty and confederacy, to ſerve the "Parliament in ſuch manner as they ſhould direct, un- "til the war ſhould be ended; but, that done, they had "no more obligations to the Parliament; and that, "when his Majeſty had no more forces on foot, nor "garriſons which held out for him, it could not be de- "nied but that the war was at an end; and then they "could ſpeak and expoſtulate with freedom." By which arts, they prevailed with the King to ſend, and publiſh ſuch orders as aforeſaid; and which indeed, as the caſe then ſtood, he could have received little benefit by not publiſhing.

The King, upon the Scots' deſire, ſends orders for the ſurrender of Oxford and all his other garriſons.

The Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way, (though they were much offended at the preſump-

The Parliament, upon the Scots' requeſt, ſends propoſitions of peace to the King at Newcaſtle, about the end of July.

tion of the Scots in neglecting to ſend the King to Warwick), to ſend their propoſitions to the King (which they knew his Majeſty would never grant) by commiſſioners of both Houſes, who had no other authority or power, than "to demand a poſitive anſwer from the "King in ten days, and then to return." Theſe propoſitions were delivered about the end of July; and contained ſuch an eradication of the government of the Church and State, that the King told them, "he knew "not what anſwer to make to them, till he ſhould be "informed what power or authority they had left to "him and his heirs, when he had given all that to them "which they deſired." He deſired, "that he might be "removed to ſome of his own houſes, and that he might "reſide there till, upon a perſonal treaty with his Par-"liament, ſuch an agreement might be eſtabliſhed as "the kingdom might enjoy peace and happineſs under "it; which, he was ſure, it could never do by the con-"ceſſions they propoſed."

His Majeſty's anſwer.

The Scots, who were enough convinced that his Majeſty could never be wrought upon to ſacrifice the Church to their wild luſts and impiety, were as good as their words to the Parliament, and uſed all the rude importunity and threats to his Majeſty, to perſuade him freely to conſent to all: though they confeſſed "that "the propoſitions were higher in many things than they "approved of, yet they ſaw no other means for him to "cloſe with his Parliament, than by granting what they "required."

The Scots enforce the Parliament propoſitions by their Chancellor.

The Chancellor of Scotland told him, "that the con-"ſequence of his anſwer to the propoſitions was as great, "as the ruin or preſervation of his crown or kingdoms: "that the Parliament, after many bloody battles, had got "the ſtrong holds and forts of the kingdom into their "hands:

" hands: that they had his revenue, exciſe, aſſeſſments,
" ſequeſtrations, and power to raiſe all the men and mo-
" ney of the kingdom: that they had gained victory
" over all, and that they had a ſtrong army to maintain
" it; ſo that they might do what they would with
" Church or State: that they deſired neither him, nor
" any of his race, longer to reign over them; and had
" ſent theſe propoſitions to his Majeſty, without the
" granting whereof, the kingdom and his people could
" not be in ſafety: that if he refuſed to aſſent, he would
" loſe all his friends in Parliament, loſe the city, and loſe
" the country; and that all England would join againſt
" him as one man to proceſs and depoſe him, and to ſet
" up another government; and ſo, that both kingdoms,
" for either's ſafety, would agree to ſettle religion and
" peace without him, to the ruin of his Majeſty and his
" poſterity:" and concluded, " that if he left England,
" he would not be admitted to come and reign in Scot-
" land."

And it is very true that the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, which was then ſitting in Scotland, had petitioned the conſervators of the peace of the kingdom, " that if " the King ſhould refuſe to give ſatisfaction to his Par-" liament, he might not be permitted to come into " Scotland." This kind of argumentation did more provoke than perſuade the King; he told them, with great reſolution and magnanimity, " that no condition they " could reduce him to, could be half ſo miſerable and " grievous to him, as that which they would perſuade " him to reduce himſelf to; and therefore, bid them " proceed their own way; and that though they had all " forſaken him, God had not."

The Parliament had now received the anſwer they ex-

The Parliament require the Scots to quit the kingdom, and to deliver up the perſon of the King.

pected; and, forthwith, required "the Scots to quit "the kingdom, and to deliver the perſon of the King to "ſuch perſons as they ſhould appoint to receive him;" who ſhould attend upon his Majeſty from Newcaſtle to Holmby, a houſe of his at a ſmall diſtance from Northampton, a town and country of very eminent diſaffection to the King throughout the war; and declared, "that his Majeſty ſhould be treated, with reſpect to the "ſafety and preſervation of his perſon, according to the "Covenant: and that, after his coming to Holmby, he "ſhould be attended by ſuch as they ſhould appoint; "and that when the Scots were removed out of Eng-"land, the Parliament would join with their brethren of "Scotland again to perſuade the King to paſs the pro-"poſitions; which if he refuſed to do, the Houſe would "do nothing that might break the union of the two "kingdoms, but would endeavour to preſerve the "ſame."

The Scots now begun again to talk ſturdily, and denied "that the Parliament of England had power abſo-"lutely to diſpoſe of the perſon of the King without "their approbation;" and the Parliament as loudly replied, "that they had nothing to do in England, but to "obſerve their orders;" and added ſuch threats to their reaſons, as might let them ſee they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them, if they refuſed to yield it. But theſe diſcourſes were only kept up till they could adjuſt all accounts between them, and agree what price they ſhould pay for the delivery of his perſon, whom one ſide was reſolved to have, and the other as reſolved not to keep; and ſo

The Scots agree to deliver up the King.

they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thouſand pounds in hand, and ſecurity for as much more

more upon days agreed upon, the Scots delivered the King up into ſuch hands as the Parliament appointed to receive him.

In this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of January, given up, by his Scottiſh ſubjects, to thoſe of his Engliſh who were entruſted by the Parliament to receive him; which had appointed a committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a party of horſe and foot of the army, which were ſubject to the orders of that committee, and the committee itſelf to go to Newcaſtle to receive that town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majeſty was delivered.

The committee appointed by the Parliament receive the King at Newcaſtle in the end of January.

They received him with the ſame formality of reſpect as he had been treated with by the Scots, and with the ſame ſtrictneſs reſtrained all reſort of thoſe to his Majeſty, who were of doubtful affections to them and their cauſe. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his perſon and ſervice, in all relations; amongſt which, in the firſt place, they preferred thoſe who had faithfully adhered to them againſt their maſter; and, where ſuch were wanting, they found others who had manifeſted their affection to them. And, in this diſtribution, the Preſbyterian party in the Houſes did what they pleaſed, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and intereſt, till they had diſmiſſed their friends, the Scots, out of the kingdom; and permitting them to put men of their principles about the perſon of the King, and to chooſe ſuch a guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majeſty.

Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majeſty.

Of the committee employed to govern and direct all, Major General Brown was one, who had a great name

and

and intereſt in the city, and with all the Preſbyterian party, and had done great ſervice to the Parliament in the war under the Earl of Eſſex, and was a diligent and ſtout commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majeſty was brought to his own houſe at Holmby in Northamptonſhire; a place he had taken much delight in: and there he was to ſtay till the Parliament and the army (for the army now took upon them to have a ſhare, and to give their opinion in the ſettlement that ſhould be made) ſhould determine what ſhould be farther done.

The King is brought to Holmby.

In the mean time, the committee paid all reſpects to his Majeſty; and he enjoyed thoſe exerciſes he moſt delighted in; and ſeemed to have all liberty, but to confer with perſons he moſt deſired, and to have ſuch ſervants about him as he could truſt. That which moſt diſpleaſed him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but ordered Preſbyterian miniſters to attend for divine ſervice; and his Majeſty, utterly refuſing to be preſent at their devotions, was compelled at thoſe hours to be his own chaplain in his bedchamber; where he conſtantly uſed the Common Prayer by himſelf. His Majeſty bore this conſtraint ſo heavily, that he writ a letter to the Houſe of Peers, in which he incloſed a liſt of the names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of which he deſired might have liberty to attend him for his devotion. To which, after many days conſideration, they returned this anſwer; "that all thoſe "Chaplains were diſaffected to the eſtabliſhed govern-"ment of the Church, and had not taken the Covenant; "but that there were others who had, who, if his Ma-"jeſty pleaſed, ſhould be ſent to him." After this anſwer, his Majeſty thought it to no purpoſe to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having

The King deſires certain of his Chaplains, is refuſed.

his

his own Chaplains, he would have been beſt pleaſed to have been without any; they who were ſent by them being men of mean parts, and of moſt impertinent and troubleſome confidence and importunity.

Whilſt thoſe diſputes continued between the Parliament and the Scots concerning the King's perſon, the army proceeded with great ſucceſs in reducing thoſe garriſons which ſtill continued in his Majeſty's obedience; whereof though ſome ſurrendered more eaſily, and with leſs reſiſtance than they might have made, ſatisfying themſelves with the King's general order, and that there was no reaſonable expectation of relief, and therefore that it would not be amiſs, by an early ſubmiſſion, to obtain better conditions for themſelves; yet others defended themſelves with notable obſtinacy to the laſt, to the great damage of the enemy, and to the detaining the army from uniting together; without which they could not purſue the great deſigns they had. And this was one of the reaſons that made the treaty with the Scots depend ſo long, and that the Preſbyterians continued their authority and credit ſo long; and we may obſerve again, that thoſe garriſons which were maintained and defended with the greateſt courage and virtue, in the end, obtained as good and as honourable conditions, as any of thoſe who ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons.

Divers garriſons ſurrendered to the Parliament.

This was the caſe of Ragland and Pendennis caſtles; which endured the longeſt ſieges, and held out the laſt of any forts or caſtles in England; being bravely defended by two perſons of very great age; but were at length delivered up within a day or two of each other. Ragland was maintained, with extraordinary reſolution and courage, by the old Marquis of Worceſter againſt Fairfax himſelf, till it was reduced to the utmoſt neceſſity. Pendennis refuſed all ſummons; admitting no

treaty,

treaty, till all their proviſions were ſo far conſumed, that they had not victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themſelves in the treaty with ſuch reſolution and unconcernedneſs, that the enemy concluded they were in no ſtraits; and ſo gave them the conditions they propoſed; which were as good as any garriſon in England had accepted. The caſtle was defended by the governor thereof, John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, an old gentleman of near fourſcore years of age, and of one of the beſt eſtates and intereſt in that county; who, with the aſſiſtance of his ſon Richard Arundel, (who was then a colonel in the army; a ſtout and diligent officer; and was by the King after his return made a baron, Lord Arundel of Trerice, in memory of his father's ſervice, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the war), maintained and defended the ſame to the laſt extremity.

There remained with him in that ſervice many gentlemen of the country of great loyalty, amongſt whom Sir Harry Killigrew was one; who, being an intimate friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reſolved to go to Jerſey; and, as ſoon as the caſtle was ſurrendered, took the firſt opportunity of a veſſel then in the harbour of Falmouth, to tranſport himſelf with ſome officers and ſoldiers to St. Maloes in Brittany; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in Jerſey, that he would procure a bark of that iſland to go to St. Maloes to fetch him thither; which, by the kindneſs of Sir George Carteret, was preſently ſent, with a longing deſire to receive him into that iſland; the two Lords, Capel and Hopton, and the Governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the veſſel at ſea, (which they well knew), they all made haſte to the harbour to receive their friend;

friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his body there in a coffin, he having died at St. Maloes within a day after he had written his letter.

After the treaty was ſigned for delivering the caſtle, he had walked out to diſcharge ſome arms which were in his chamber; among which, a carabine that had been long charged, in the ſhooting off, broke; and a ſplinter of it ſtruck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; ſo that his friends could not perſuade him to ſtay there till the wound was cured; but, the blood being ſtopped, and the chirurgeon having bound it up, he proſecuted his intended voyage; and at his landing at St. Maloes, he writ that letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his letter was no ſooner gone than he ſent for a chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, having deſired that his dead body might be ſent to Jerſey; where he was decently buried. He was a very gallant gentleman, of a noble extraction, and a fair revenue in land; of excellent parts and courage: he had one only ſon, who was killed before him in a party that fell upon the enemy's quarters near Bridgewater; where he behaved himſelf with remarkable courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir Harry was of the Houſe of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was moſt zealous and paſſionate in oppoſing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of Eſſex was choſen General, and the ſeveral members of the Houſe ſtood up, and declared, what horſe they would raiſe and maintain,

tain, and that they would live and die with the Earl their General, one ſaying he would raiſe ten horſes, and another twenty, he ſtood up and ſaid, "He would pro- "vide a good horſe, and a good buff coat, and a good "pair of piſtols, and then he doubted not but he ſhould "find a good cauſe;" and ſo went out of the Houſe, and rode poſt into Cornwall, where his eſtate and intereſt lay; and there joined with thoſe gallant gentlemen his friends, who firſt received the Lord Hopton, and raiſed thoſe forces which did ſo many famous actions in the Weſt.

He would never take any command in the army; but they who had, conſulted with no man more. He was in all actions, and in thoſe places where was moſt danger, having great courage and a pleaſantneſs of humour in danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very ſharp ſpeaker, and cared not for angering thoſe who deſerved to be reprehended. The Arundels, Trelawnies, Slannings, Trevanions, and all the ſignal men of that county, infinitely loved his ſpirit and ſincerity; and his credit and intereſt had a great influence upon all but thoſe who did not love the King; and to thoſe he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by men of moderate tempers; for he thought all ſuch prepared to rebel, when a little ſucceſs ſhould encourage them; and was many times too much offended with men who wiſhed well, and whoſe conſtitutions and complexions would not permit them to expreſs the ſame frankneſs, which his nature and keenneſs of ſpirit could not ſuppreſs. His loſs was much lamented by all good men.

From the time that the King was brought to Holmby, and whilſt he ſtayed there, he was afflicted with the ſame

ſame preſſures concerning the Church, which had diſquieted him at Newcaſtle; the Parliament not remitting any of their inſolencies in their demands: all which was imputed to the Preſbyterians, who were thought to exerciſe the whole power, and begun to give orders for the leſſening their great charge by diſbanding ſome troops of their army, and ſending others for Ireland; which they made no doubt ſpeedily to reduce; and declared, "that they would then diſband all armies, that the "kingdom might be governed by the known laws."

Differences ariſe between the Parliament and the army.

This temper in the Houſes raiſed another ſpirit in the army; which did neither like the Preſbyterian government that they ſaw ready to be ſettled in the Church, nor that the Parliament ſhould ſo abſolutely diſpoſe of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and Cromwell, who had the ſole influence upon the army, underhand, made them petition the Houſes againſt any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himſelf, and his officers, took upon them to preach and pray publickly to their troops, and admitted few or no chaplains in the army, but ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the Preſbyterian government, as more tyrannical than Epiſcopacy; and the common ſoldiers, as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themſelves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people; who quickly became inſpired with the ſame ſpirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the State; ſcarce any man being ſuffered to be called in queſtion for delivering any opinion in religion, by ſpeaking or writing, how profane, heretical, or blaſphemous

Divers ſects increaſe in the army.

ſoever

ſoever it was; "which, they ſaid, was to reſtrain the "Spirit."

Liberty of conſcience was now the common argument and quarrel, whilſt the Preſbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterneſs againſt the ſeveral ſects as enemies to all godlineſs, as they had done, and ſtill continued to do, againſt the Prelatical party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in the two Houſes, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleaſed God to have taken away the Earl of Eſſex ſome months before this; who died without being ſenſible of ſickneſs, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the miſchief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himſelf had received from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehenſion and deteſtation of the ruin he ſaw like to befall the King and the kingdom. And it is very probable, conſidering the preſent temper of the city at that time, and of the two Houſes, he might, if he had lived, have given ſome check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not ſuffer a man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedneſs of his heart, had been made an inſtrument of ſo much miſchief, to have any ſhare in ſo glorious a work: though his conſtitution and temper might very well incline him to the lethargic indiſpoſition of which he died, yet it was loudly ſaid by many of his friends, "that he was poiſoned."

The Earl of Eſſex died in Sept. this year.

Sure it is that Cromwell and his party (for he was now declared head of the army, though Fairfax continued General in name) were wonderfully exalted with his

his death; he being the only perſon whoſe credit and intereſt they feared without any eſteem of his perſon.

And now, that they might more ſubſtantially enter into diſpute and competition with the Parliament, and go a ſhare with them in ſettling the kingdom, (as they called it), the army erected a kind of Parliament among themſelves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's army, and when they had no more enemy to contend with in the field, and after they had purged their army of all thoſe inconvenient officers, of whoſe entire ſubmiſſion, and obedience to all their dictates, they had not confidence, ſet aſide, in effect, their Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal officers of the army, and others of their friends, whoſe principles they well knew, to be elected members of the Houſe of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the King. By this means, Fairfax himſelf, Ireton, Harriſon, and many other of the Independents, officers and gentlemen, of the ſeveral counties, who were tranſported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name *Fanatics*, ſate in the Houſe of Commons; notwithſtanding all which, the Preſbyterians ſtill carried it.

But about this time, that they might be upon a nearer level with the Parliament, the army made choice of a number of ſuch officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to reſemble the Houſe of Peers; and the common ſoldiers made choice of three or four of each regiment, moſt corporals or ſerjeants, few or none above the degree of an enſign, who were called Agitators, and were to be as a Houſe of Commons to the Council of Officers. Theſe two repreſentatives met ſeverally, and conſidered of all the acts and orders

Agitators, as well as a council of officers, appointed by the army.

made by the Parliament towards ſettling the kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or diſbanding of the army: and, upon mutual meſſages and conferences between each other, they reſolved in the firſt place, and declared, "that they would not be divided or diſband-
Their firſt reſolutions. "ed, before their full arrears were paid, and before full "proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience; which, "they ſaid, was the ground of the quarrel, and for "which ſo many of their friends' lives had been loſt, "and ſo much of their own blood had been ſpilt; and "that hitherto there was ſo little ſecurity provided in "that point, that there was a greater perſecution now "againſt religious and godly men, than ever had been "in the King's government, when the Biſhops were "their judges."

They ſaid, "they did not look upon themſelves as a "band of Janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight "their battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up "arms for the liberty and defence of the nation of "which they were a part; and before they laid down "thoſe arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends well pro-"vided for, that the people might not hereafter undergo "thoſe grievances which they had formerly ſuffered. "They complained that ſome members of the army "had been ſent for by the Parliament, and committed "to priſon, which was againſt their privilege; ſince all "ſoldiers ought to be tried by a council of war, and not "by any other judicatory; and therefore they deſired "redreſs in theſe, and many other particulars of as in-"grateful a nature; and that ſuch as were impriſoned "and in cuſtody, might be forthwith ſet at liberty; "without which they could not think themſelves juſtly "dealt with." And with this declaration and addreſs,

they

they ſent three or four of their own members to the Houſe of Commons; who delivered it at the bar with wonderful confidence. Which they delivered to the Parliament.

The ſoldiers publiſhed a vindication, as they called it, of their proceedings and reſolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complained of a deſign to diſband and new model the army; "which, they ſaid, "was a plot contrived by ſome men who had lately "taſted of ſovereignty; and, being lifted up above the "ordinary ſphere of ſervants, endeavoured to become "maſters, and were degenerated into tyrants." They therefore declared, "that they would neither be employ-"ed for the ſervice of Ireland, nor ſuffer themſelves to "be diſbanded, till their deſires were granted, and the "rights and liberties of the ſubjects ſhould be vindi-"cated and maintained." This apology, or vindication, being ſigned by many inferior officers, the Parliament declared them to be enemies to the State; and cauſed ſome of them, who talked loudeſt, to be impriſoned. Upon which a new addreſs was made to their General; wherein they complained "how diſdainfully they were "uſed by the Parliament, for whom they had ventured "their lives, and loſt their blood: that the privileges, "which were due to them as ſoldiers and as ſubjects, "were taken from them; and when they complained of "the injuries they received, they were abuſed, beaten, "and dragged into gaols." And to their General.

Hereupon, the General was prevailed with to write a letter to a member of Parliament, who ſhewed it to the Houſe; in which he took notice of ſeveral petitions, which were prepared in the city of London, and ſome other counties of the kingdom, againſt the army; and "that it was looked upon as very ſtrange, that the of-"ficers of the army might not be permitted to petition,

" when ſo many petitions were received againſt them; " and that he much doubted that the army might " draw to a rendezvous, and think of ſome other way " for their own vindication."

This manner of proceeding by the ſoldiers, but eſpecially the General ſeeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they reſolved not to ſuffer their counſels to be cenſured, or their actions controlled, by thoſe who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high expreſſions againſt the preſumption of ſeveral officers and ſoldiers, they declared, " that whoſoever ſhould refuſe, being " commanded, to engage himſelf in the ſervice of " Ireland, ſhould be diſbanded." The army was reſolved not to be ſubdued in their firſt ſo declared reſolution, and fell into a direct and high mutiny, and called for the arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to levy for themſelves; nor could they be in any degree appeaſed, till the declaration that the Parliament had made againſt them was raſed out of the journal book of both Houſes, and a month's pay ſent to them; nor were they ſatisfied with all this, but talked very loud, " that they knew how to make themſelves as " conſiderable as the Parliament, and where to have " their ſervice better valued and rewarded;" which ſo frighted thoſe at Weſtminſter, that they appointed a committee of Lords and Commons, whereof ſome were very acceptable to the army, to go to them, and to treat with a committee choſen of the officers of the army, upon the beſt expedients that might be applied to the compoſing theſe diſtempers. Now the army thought itſelf upon a level with the Parliament, when they had a committee of the one authorized to treat with a committee of the other; which likewiſe raiſed the

The Parliament's declaration thereupon.

Afterward raſed out of their books.

A committee appointed by the two Houſes to treat with a committee of the army.

ſpirits

ſpirits of Fairfax, who had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament; and diſpoſed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the army, when he ſaw it was ſo much complied with and ſubmitted to by all men.

Cromwell's behaviour at firſt in theſe mutinies.

Cromwell, hitherto, carried himſelf with that rare diſſimulation, (in which ſure he was a very great maſter), that he ſeemed exceedingly incenſed againſt this inſolence of the ſoldiers; was ſtill in the Houſe of Commons when any ſuch addreſſes were made; and inveighed bitterly againſt the preſumption, and had been the cauſe of the commitment, of ſome of the officers. He propoſed, "that the General might be ſent down "to the army;" who, he ſaid, "would conjure down "this mutinous ſpirit quickly;" and he was ſo eaſily believed, that he himſelf was ſent once or twice to compoſe the army; where after he had ſtayed two or three days, he would again return to the Houſe, and complain heavily "of the great licence that was got into the army; "that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, "and of thoſe who deſired that the nation ſhould be "again imbrued in blood, he was rendered ſo odious "unto them, that they had a purpoſe to kill him, if, "upon ſome diſcovery made to him, he had not eſcaped "out of their hands." And in theſe, and the like diſcourſes, when he ſpake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the moſt afflicted man in the world with the ſenſe of the calamities which were like to enſue. But, as many of the wiſer ſort had long diſcovered his wicked intentions, ſo his hypocriſy could not longer be concealed. The moſt active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and ſuch who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately

reſolved by the principal perſons of the Houſe of Commons, that when he came the next day into the Houſe, which he ſeldom omitted to do, they would ſend him to the Tower; preſuming, that if they had once ſevered his perſon from the army, they ſhould eaſily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the leaſt jealouſy of the General Fairfax, whom they knew to be a perfect Preſbyterian in his judgment; and that Cromwell had the aſcendant over him purely by his diſſimulation, and pretence of conſcience and ſincerity. There is no doubt Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had thoſe wicked deſigns in his heart againſt the King, or the leaſt imagination of diſobeying the Parliament.

This purpoſe of ſeizing upon the perſon of Cromwell could not be carried ſo ſecretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had ſo much lamented his deſperate misfortune in having loſt all reputation, and credit, and authority in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the Houſe expected every minute his preſence, they were informed that he was met out of the town by break of day, with one ſervant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of ſome regiments of the horſe, and from whence he writ a letter to the Houſe of Commons, "that having the night before re-
"ceived a letter from ſome officers of his own regiment,
"that the jealouſy the troops had conceived of him,
"and of his want of kindneſs towards them, was much
"abated, ſo that they believed, if he would be quickly
"preſent with them, they would all in a ſhort time by
"his advice be reclaimed, upon this he had made all
"the haſte he could; and did find that the ſoldiers had
"been abuſed by miſinformation; and that he hoped
"to

" to diſcover the fountain from whence it ſprung; and " in the mean time deſired that the General, and the " other officers in the Houſe, and ſuch as remained about " the town, might be preſently ſent to their quarters; and " that he believed it would be very neceſſary in or- " der to the ſuppreſſion of the late diſtempers, and for " the prevention of the like for the time to come, that " there might be a general rendezvous of the army; of " which the General would beſt conſider, when he came " down; which he wiſhed might be haſtened." It was now to no purpoſe to diſcover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealouſy of a perſon who was out of their reach; and ſo they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the General and the other officers left the town, and went to their quarters.

Cornet Joyce ſeized upon the King at Holmby, June 3, 1647.

The ſame morning that Cromwell left London, Cornet Joyce, who was one of the agitators in the army, a tay- lor, a fellow who had two or three years before ſerved in a very inferior employment in Mr. Hollis's houſe, came with a ſquadron of fifty horſe to Holmby, where the King was, about the break of day; and without any interruption by the guard of horſe or foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knocked at the King's chamber door, and ſaid " he muſt preſently " ſpeak with the King." His Majeſty, ſurpriſed with the manner of it, roſe out of his bed; and, half dreſſed, cauſed the door to be opened, which he knew otherwiſe would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the chamber being perſons of whom he had little knowledge, and leſs confidence. As ſoon as the door was opened, Joyce, and two or three more, came into the chamber, with their hats off, and piſtols in their hands. Joyce told the King, " that he muſt go with him." His Majeſty

aſked, "whither?" he anſwered, "to the army." The King aſked him, "where the army was?" he ſaid, "they would carry him to the place where it was." His Majeſty aſked, "by what authority they came?" Joyce anſwered, "by this;" and ſhewed him his piſtol; and deſired his Majeſty, "that he would cauſe himſelf "to be dreſſed, becauſe it was neceſſary they ſhould "make haſte." None of the other ſoldiers ſpoke a word; and Joyce, ſaving the bluntneſs and poſitiveneſs of the few words he ſpoke, behaved himſelf not rudely. The King ſaid, "he could not ſtir before he ſpoke "with the committee to whom he had been delivered, "and who were truſted by the Parliament;" and ſo appointed one of thoſe who waited upon him, to call them. The committee had been as much ſurpriſed with the noiſe as the King had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and aſked Joyce, "whether he had any "orders from the Parliament?" he ſaid *No.* "From "the General?" *No.* "What authority he came by?" to which he made no other anſwer, than he had made to the King, and held up his piſtol. They ſaid, "they "would write to the Parliament to know their pleaſure;" Joyce ſaid, "they might do ſo, but the King muſt pre-"ſently go with him." Colonel Brown had ſent for ſome of the troops who were appointed for the King's guard, but they came not; he ſpoke then with the officer who commanded thoſe who were at that time upon the guard, and found that they would make no reſiſtance: ſo that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cauſe to believe that he was reſolved not to have gone, which had been to no purpoſe, and after he had broken his faſt, he went into his coach, attended by the few ſervants who were put about him, and went whither Cornet

net Joyce would conduct him; there being no part of the army known to be within twenty miles of Holmby at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension, was, that those officers who were of the guard, declared, "that the squadron which was commanded by Joyce consisted not of soldiers of any "one regiment, but were men of several troops, and "several regiments, drawn together under him, who was "not the proper officer;" so that the King did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and it was received with all imaginable consternation; nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

The committee give notice of it.

Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased with the account they received from the General himself; who by his letter informed them, "that "the soldiers at Holmby had brought the King from "thence; and that his Majesty lay the next night at "Colonel Montague's house, and would be the next "day at Newmarket: that the ground thereof was "from an apprehension of some strength gathered to "force the King from thence; whereupon he had sent "Colonel Whaley's regiment to meet the King." He protested, "that his remove was without his consent, or "of the officers about him, or of the body of the army, "and without their desire or privity: that he would "take care for the security of his Majesty's person from "danger;" and assured the Parliament, "that the "whole army endeavoured peace, and were far from opposing Presbytery, or affecting Independency, or from "any purpose to maintain a licentious freedom in religion, or the interest of any particular party, but

The General's account of it to the Parliament.

"were

" were reſolved to leave the abſolute determination of all " to the Parliament."

It was upon the third of June that the King was taken from Holmby by Cornet Joyce, well nigh a full year after he had delivered himſelf to the Scots at Newark; in all which time, the army had been at leiſure to contrive all ways to free itſelf from the ſervitude of the Parliament, whilſt the Preſbyterians believed, that, in ſpite of a few factious Independent officers, it was entirely at their devotion, and could never prove diſobedient to their commands; and thoſe few wiſe men, who diſcerned the foul deſigns of thoſe officers, and by what degrees they ſtole the hearts and affections of the ſoldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their own party. The joint confidence of the unanimous affection of the city of London to all their purpoſes, made them deſpiſe all oppoſition; but now, when they ſaw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with theſe circumſtances, they found all their meaſures broke by which they had formed all their counſels. And as this letter from the General adminiſtered too much cauſe of jealouſy of what was to ſucceed, ſo a poſitive information about the ſame time by many officers, confirmed by a letter which the Lord Mayor of London had received, that the whole army was upon its march, and would be in London the next day by noon, ſo diſtracted them, that they appeared beſides themſelves: however, they voted, " that the Houſes ſhould ſit all the next " day, being Sunday; and that Mr. Marſhall ſhould be " there to pray for them: that the Committee of Safety " ſhould ſit up all that night to conſider what was to be " done: that the lines of communication ſhould be " ſtrongly guarded, and all the Trained Bands of Lon- " don ſhould be drawn together upon pain of death."

Diſtractions at Weſtminſter upon notice of the army's coming towards London.

All

All ſhops were ſhut up, and ſuch a general confuſion over all the town, and in the faces of all men, as if the army had already entered the town. The Parliament writ a letter to the General, deſiring him, "that no part "of the army might come within five and twenty miles "of London; and that the King's perſon might be de- "livered to the former commiſſioners, who had attended "upon his Majeſty at Holmby; and that Colonel Roſ- "ſiter, and his regiment, might be appointed for the "guard of his perſon." The General returned for anſwer, "that the army was come to St. Alban's before the "deſire of the Parliament came to his hands; but that, "in obedience to their commands, he would advance no "farther; and deſired that a month's pay might pre- "ſently be ſent for the army." In which they deferred not to gratify them; though as to the re-delivery of the King to the former commiſſioners, no other anſwer was returned, than "that they might reſt aſſured, that all "care ſhould be taken for his Majeſty's ſecurity."

From that time both Cromwell and Ireton appeared in the Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and their expoſtulations with the Parliament begun to be more briſk and contumacious than they had been. The King found himſelf at Newmarket attended by greater troops and ſuperior officers; ſo that he was preſently freed from any ſubjection to Mr. Joyce; which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his Majeſty all the reſpect imaginable, and ſeemed to deſire to pleaſe him in all things. All reſtraint was taken off from perſons reſorting to him, and he ſaw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no ſooner deſired that ſome of his Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion,

The King brought to Newmarket; where he was allowed his Chaplains by the army.

tion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderſon, and Dr. Hammond) were preſently ſent, and gave their attendance, and performed their function at the ordinary hours, in their accuſtomed formalities; all perſons, who had a mind to it, being ſuffered to be preſent, to his Majeſty's infinite ſatisfaction; who begun to believe that the army was not ſo much his enemy as it was reported to be; and the army had ſent an addreſs to him full of proteſtation of duty, and beſought him "that he would be content, for ſome time, to reſide "among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were "put into ſuch a poſture as he might find all things to "his own content and ſecurity; which they infinitely "deſired to ſee as ſoon as might be; and to that pur-"poſe made daily inſtances to the Parliament." In the mean time his Majeſty ſate ſtill, or removed to ſuch places as were moſt convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had uſed to be in any progreſs; the beſt gentlemen of the ſeveral counties through which he paſſed, daily reſorted to him, without diſtinction; he was attended by ſome of his old truſty ſervants in the places neareſt his perſon; and that which gave him moſt encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the army's addreſs to the Parliament, they deſired "that care might be taken for ſettling the King's "rights, according to the ſeveral profeſſions they had "made in their declarations; and that the royal party "might be treated with more candour, and leſs rigour;" and many good officers who had ſerved his Majeſty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters; which they could not do any where elſe; which raiſed a great reputation

His Majeſty removes according to the marches of the army.

putation to the army, throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the Parliament.

The Parliament at this time had recovered its ſpirit, when they ſaw the army did not march nearer towards them, and not only ſtopped at St. Alban's, but was drawn back to a farther diſtance; which perſuaded them, that their General was diſpleaſed with the former advance: and ſo they proceeded with all paſſion and vigour againſt thoſe principal officers, who, they knew, contrived all theſe proceedings. They publiſhed declarations to the kingdom, "that they deſired to bring the "King in honour to his Parliament; which was their "buſineſs from the beginning, and that he was detained "priſoner againſt his will in the army; and that they "had great reaſon to apprehend the ſafety of his per-"ſon." The army, on the other hand, declared "that "his Majeſty was neither priſoner, nor detained againſt "his will; and appealed to his Majeſty himſelf, and to "all his friends, who had liberty to repair to him, whe-"ther he had not more liberty, and was not treated with "more reſpect, ſince he came into the army than he "had been at Holmby, or during the time he remained "in thoſe places, and with that retinue that the Parlia-"ment had appointed?" The city ſeemed very unanimouſly devoted to the Parliament, and incenſed againſt the army; and ſeemed reſolute, not only with their Trained Bands and auxiliary regiments to aſſiſt and defend the Parliament, but appointed ſome of the old officers who had ſerved under the Earl of Eſſex, and had been diſbanded under the new model, as Waller, Maſſey, and others, to liſt new forces; towards which there was not like to be want of men out of their old forces, and ſuch of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear ſo much, Tranſactions in the city upon thoſe occaſions.

as

as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his party, of which there was ſo much ſhew; and many unſkilful men, who wiſhed it, bragged too much; and therefore the Parliament ſent a committee to his Majeſty, with an addreſs of another ſtyle than they had lately uſed, with many profeſſions of duty; and declaring, "that if he was not, in all reſpects, "treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it was not "their fault, who deſired he might be at full liberty, "and do what he would;" hoping that the King would have been induced to deſire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army's having taken him from Holmby; by which they believed the King's party would be diſabuſed, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the army; and then, they thought, they ſhould be hard enough for them.

The King was in great doubt how to carry himſelf; he thought himſelf ſo barbarouſly uſed by the Preſbyterians, and had ſo ill an opinion of all the principal perſons who governed them, that he had no mind to put himſelf into their hands. On the other ſide, he was far from being ſatisfied with the army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his friends were ſuffered to reſort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the officers and ſoldiers appeared, for the moſt part, civil to him, they were all at leaſt as vigilant, as the former guards had been; ſo that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had deſired it. Fairfax had been with him, and kiſſed his hand, and made ſuch profeſſions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his authority was of no uſe, becauſe he reſigned himſelf entirely to Cromwell; who had been, and Ireton likewiſe, with the King, without

without either of them offering to kiſs his hand; otherwiſe, they behaved themſelves with good manners towards him. His Majeſty uſed all the addreſs he could towards them to draw ſome promiſe from them; but they were ſo reſerved, and ſtood ſo much upon their guard, and uſed ſo few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they ſaid: they excuſed themſelves "for not ſeeing his Majeſty often, upon the great "jealouſies the Parliament had of them, towards whom "they profeſſed all fidelity." The perſons who reſorted to his Majeſty, and brought advices from others who durſt not yet offer to come themſelves, brought ſeveral opinions to him; ſome thinking the army would deal ſincerely with his Majeſty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed: ſo that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament addreſſes by any neglect, nor diſoblige the army by appearing to have jealouſy of them, or a deſire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have reſorted to. So he deſired both parties "to haſten their conſultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace and "happineſs; in which he ſhould not be without a "ſhare; and he would pray to God to bring this to paſs "as ſoon as was poſſible."

The news of the King's being in the army, of his freedom in the exerciſe of his religion, which he had been ſo long without, and that ſome of his ſervants, with whom he was well pleaſed, had liberty to attend upon him, made every body abroad, as well as thoſe at home, hope well; and the King himſelf writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the Scots. Sir John Berkley, after his ſurrender of Exeter, and the ſpending his ſix months allowed

lowed by the articles to ſolicit his affairs where he would, had tranſported himſelf into France, and waited upon the Queen at Paris, being ſtill a menial ſervant to her Majeſty, and having a friend in that Court that governed, and loved him better than any body elſe did. As ſoon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the army, he repeated many diſcourſes he had held with the officers of the army, whilſt they treated with him of the delivery of Exeter; how he had told them, "upon how ſlippery ground they ſtood; that the Par-"liament, when they had ſerved their turn, would diſ-"miſs them with reproach, and give them very ſmall "rewards for the great ſervice they had done for them; "that they ſhould do well, ſeaſonably to think of a ſafe "retreat, which could be no where but under the pro-"tection of the King; who by their courage was "brought very low; and if they raiſed him again, he "muſt owe it all to them; and his poſterity, as well as "himſelf, and all his party, muſt for ever acknowledge "it; by which they would raiſe their fortunes, as well "as their fame, to the greateſt degree men could aim "at;" which, he ſaid, made ſuch an impreſſion upon this and that officer, whom he named, "that they told "him at parting, that they ſhould never forget what he "had ſaid to them; and that they already obſerved that "every day produced ſomewhat that would put them in "mind of it." In a word, "he had foretold all that "was ſince come to paſs, and he was moſt confident, "that, if he were now with them, he ſhould be wel-"come, and have credit enough to bring them to rea-"ſon, and to do the King great ſervice;" and offered, without any delay, to make the journey. The Queen believed all he ſaid; and they who did not, were very willing he ſhould make the experiment; for he that loved

loved him beſt, was very willing to be without him; and ſo receiving the Queen's letter of recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without ſome prejudice, he left Paris, and made all poſſible haſte into England. John Aſhburnham, who was driven from the King by the Scots after he had conducted his Majeſty to them, had tranſported himſelf into France, and was at this time reſiding in Rouen; having found, upon his addreſs to the Queen at Paris upon his firſt arrival, that his abode in ſome other place would not be ungrateful to her Majeſty, and ſo he removed to Rouen; where he had the ſociety of many who had ſerved the King in the moſt eminent qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the ſame reſtraint that had been formerly, he reſolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reaſon to doubt but that his preſence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other envoy from Paris, and he, did not make their journey into England together, nor had the leaſt communication with each other, being in truth of ſeveral parties and purpoſes, yet they arrived there, and at the army, near the ſame time.

Sir John Berkley ſent from the Queen to the King.

Mr. Aſhburnham comes from France to the King.

Berkley firſt applied himſelf to thoſe ſubordinate officers with whom he had ſome acquaintance at Exeter, and they informing their ſuperiors of his arrival and application, they were well pleaſed that he was come. They were well acquainted with his talent, and knew his foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep deſign from his contrivance; and ſo they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whoſe perſon he had no title, or relation, which required any conſtant waiting upon him.

Sir John Berkley and Mr. Aſhburnham's tranſactions with ſome officers of the army.

Aſhburnham had, by ſome friends, a recommendation both to Cromwell and Ireton, who knew the credit he had with the King, and that his Majeſty would be very well pleaſed to have his attendance, and look upon it as a teſtimony of their reſpect to him. They knew likewiſe that he was an implacable enemy to the Scots, and no friend to the other Preſbyterians, and though he had ſome ordinary craft in inſinuating, he was of no deep and piercing judgment to diſcover what was not unwarily expoſed, and a free ſpeaker of what he imagined: ſo they likewiſe left him at liberty to repair to the King; and theſe two gentlemen came near about the ſame time to his Majeſty, when the army was drawing together, with a purpoſe, which was not yet publiſhed, of marching to London; his Majeſty being ſtill quartered in thoſe places which were more proper for that purpoſe.

They were both welcome to his Majeſty, the one bringing a ſpecial recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himſelf the more valuable, aſſuring his Majeſty, "that he was ſent for by the officers of the "army, as one they would truſt, and that they had re-"ceived him with open arms; and, without any ſcru-"ple, gave him leave to wait upon him:" the other needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations diſpoſing him to be very gracious to him; and ſo his Majeſty wiſhed them "to correſpond with each other, "and to converſe with his ſeveral friends, who did not "yet think fit to reſort to him; and to receive their "advice; to diſcover as much as they could of the in-"tentions of both parties, and impart what was fit to "the King, till, upon a farther diſcovery, his Majeſty "might better judge what to do." Theſe two were the principal agents, (they conferring with all his Majeſty's friends,

friends, and, as often as they desired, with the officers of the army), upon whose information and advice his Majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same persons, and never with any of the officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the officers not being principally with the same men, their informations and advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his Majesty.

The different designs of the Parliament and army at this time relating to the King.

The very high contests between the Parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their name and authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose dictates the people would never submit. They thought the King's presence amongst them gave them all their present reputation; and were not without apprehension that the ambition of some of the officers, and their malice to the Parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the King's party and interest; and then, all the penalties of treason, rebellion, and trespasses, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they laboured, by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the King to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to Whitehall; and, in either of those cases,

they did not doubt, firſt, to divide the army, (for they ſtill believed the General faſt to them), and by degrees to bring them to reaſon, and to be diſbanded, as many as were not neceſſary for the ſervice of Ireland; and then, having the King to themſelves, and all his party being obnoxious to thoſe penalties for their delinquency, they ſhould be well able, by gratifying ſome of the greateſt perſons of the nobility with immunity and indemnity, to ſettle the government in ſuch a manner, as to be well recompenſed for all the adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the army had no dread of the authority and power of the Parliament; which they knew had been ſo far proſtituted, that it had loſt moſt of its reverence with the people. But it had great apprehenſion, that, by its conjunction with the city, it might indeed recover credit with the kingdom, and withhold the pay of the army, and thereby make ſome diviſion amongſt them; and if the perſon of the King ſhould be likewiſe with them, and thereby his party ſhould likewiſe join with them, they ſhould be to begin their work again, or to make their peace with thoſe who were as much provoked by them as the King himſelf had been. And therefore they were ſenſible that they enjoyed a preſent benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward reſpect that was due to his Majeſty, and the civilities they made profeſſion of towards all his party, and the permiſſion of his chaplains, and other ſervants, to reſort to him; and cultivated all theſe artifices with great addreſs, ſuppreſſing or diſcountenancing the tyranny of the Preſbyterians in the country committees, and all other places, where they exerciſed notable rigour againſt all who had been of the King's party, or not enough of theirs, (for neuters found

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no excuſe for being of no party.) When they found it fit to make any luſty declaration againſt the Parliament, and exclaim againſt their tyrannical proceedings againſt the army, they always inſerted ſomewhat that might look like candour and tenderneſs towards the King's party, complained of "the affront and indignity done to "the army by the Parliament's not obſerving the arti- "cles which had been made upon ſurrender of garri- "ſons, but proceeding againſt thoſe on whoſe behalf "thoſe articles were made, with more ſeverity than was "agreeable to juſtice, and to the intention of the arti- "cles; whereby the honour and faith of the army ſuf- "fered, and was complained of; all which, they ſaid, "they would have remedied." Whereupon many hoped that they ſhould be excuſed from making any compoſitions, and entertained ſuch other imaginations as pleaſed themſelves, and the other party well liked; knowing they could demoliſh all thoſe ſtructures as ſoon as they received no benefit by them themſelves.

The King had, during the time he ſtayed at Holmby, writ to the Houſe of Peers, that his children might have leave to come to him, and to reſide for ſome time with him. From the time that Oxford had been ſurrendered, upon which the Duke of York had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he ſhould have liberty to go to ſuch place as the King ſhould direct, which was very earneſtly preſſed, and inſiſted on by the lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their committee to receive him with all reſpect, and to bring him to London: from that time, I ſay, the Duke of York was committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland, together with the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Princeſs, who had been by the King left under the tuition of the Counteſs of Dorſet, but

from the death of that Counteſs the Parliament had preſumed, that they might be ſure to keep them in their power, to put them into the cuſtody of the Lady Vere, an old lady much in their favour, but not at all ambitious of that charge, though there was a competent allowance aſſigned for their ſupport. They were now removed from her, and placed all together with the Earl of Northumberland, who received and treated them, in all reſpects, as was ſuitable to their birth, and his own duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his inſtructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had abſolutely refuſed to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majeſty no ſooner took notice to Fairfax, than he writ a letter to the Parliament, "that the King much deſired "to have the ſight and company of his children, and "that if they might not be allowed to be longer with "him, that at leaſt they might dine with him;" and he ſent them word that, on ſuch a day, "the King, who "attended the motion of the army, and was quartered "only where they pleaſed, would dine at Maidenhead."

The King allowed to ſee his children at Maidenhead and Caverſham.

There his children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to quarter and ſtay ſome time at Caverſham, a houſe of the Lord Craven's, near Reading, his children were likewiſe ſuffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greateſt ſatisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving whereof he imputed to the civility of the General, and the good diſpoſition of the army; which made ſo much the more impreſſion upon him, in that he had never made any one propoſition in which he had been gratified, where the Preſbyterian ſpirit had power to deny it.

In the Houſe of Commons, which was now the ſcene of

of all the action that diſpleaſed and incenſed the army, (for the Houſe of Peers was ſhrunk into ſo inconſiderable a number, and their perſons not conſiderable after the death of the Earl of Eſſex, except thoſe who were affected to, or might be diſpoſed by, the army), they were wholly guided by Hollis, and Stapleton, Lewis, and Glyn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller, and Maſſey, and Brown, who had ſerved in commands in the army, and performed at ſome times very ſignal ſervice, and were exceedingly beloved in the city, and two or three others who followed their dictates, and were ſubſervient to their directions. Theſe were all men of parts, intereſt, and ſignal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they diſcerned the army to have, and that it was wholly to be diſpoſed according to the deſigns of Cromwell, but had likewiſe declared animoſities againſt the perſons of the moſt active and powerful officers; as Hollis had one day, upon a very hot debate in the Houſe, and ſome rude expreſſions which fell from Ireton, perſuaded him to walk out of the Houſe with him, and then told him, "that he ſhould preſently "go over the water and fight with him." Ireton replying, "his conſcience would not ſuffer him to fight a "duel;" Hollis, in choler, pulled him by the noſe; telling him, "if his conſcience would keep him from "giving men ſatisfaction, it ſhould keep him from pro-"voking them." This affront to the third perſon of the army, and to a man of the moſt virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, ſo incenſed the whole party, that they were reſolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the Houſe, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not ab-

ſolutely control their deſigns, he did ſo obſtruct them, that they could not advance to any concluſion.

They reſorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had obſerved, by the conduct of thoſe very men againſt whom they meant to apply it, had brought to paſs all that they deſired; and, in the Council of Officers, prepared an impeachment of high treaſon in general terms againſt Mr. Hollis, and the perſons mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven members of the Houſe of Commons. This impeachment twelve officers of the army, colonels, lieutenant colonels, majors, and captains, preſented to the Houſe; and within few days after, when they ſaw the ſame members ſtill inveigh againſt and arraign their proceedings, the General and officers writ a letter to the Houſe, "that they "would appoint fit perſons on their and the kingdom's "behalf, to make good the charge againſt thoſe mem- "bers whom they had accuſed; and that they deſired, "that thoſe members impeached might be forthwith "ſuſpended from ſitting in the Houſe; ſince it could "not be thought fit that the ſame perſons who had ſo "much injured and provoked the army, ſhould ſit "judges of their own actions." This was an arrow that the Houſe of Commons did not expect would have been ſhot out of that quiver; and though they were unſpeakably diſmayed, and diſtracted with this preſumption, they anſwered poſitively, "that they neither would, "nor could, ſequeſter thoſe members from the Houſe, "who had never ſaid or done any thing in the Houſe "worthy of cenſure, till proof were made of ſuch parti- "culars as might render them guilty." But the officers of the army replied, "that they could prove them "guilty of ſuch practices in the Houſe, that it would "be

The army impeach eleven members of the Houſe of Commons.

" be juſt in the Houſe to ſuſpend them: that by the " laws of the land, and the precedents of Parliament, the " Lords had, upon the very preſentation of a general ac- " cuſation without being reduced in form, ſequeſtered " from their Houſe and committed the Earl of Straf- " ford, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and there- " fore they muſt preſs, and inſiſt upon the ſuſpending " at leaſt of thoſe accuſed members from being preſent " in the Houſe, where they ſtood impeached; and with- " out this, they ſaid, the army would not be ſatisfied." However the Houſe of Commons ſeemed ſtill reſolute, the accuſed members themſelves, who beſt knew their temper, thought it ſafer for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear in the Houſe, to allay the heat of the preſent conteſt.

Upon this ſo palpable declenſion of ſpirit in the Houſe, the army ſeemed much quieter, and reſolved to ſet other agents on their work, that they might not appear too buſy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the city, upon whoſe influence the Parliament much depended, appeared now entirely Preſbyterian; the Court of Aldermen, and Common Council, conſiſted chiefly of men of that ſpirit; the militia of the city was committed to commiſſioners carefully and factiouſly choſen of that party; all thoſe of another temper having been put out of thoſe truſts, at or about the time that the King was delivered up by the Scots, when the officers of the army were content that the Preſbyterians ſhould believe, that the whole power of the kingdom was in them; and that they might ſettle what government they pleaſed: if there remained any perſons in any of thoſe employments in the city, it was by their diſſimulation, and pretending to have other affections; moſt of thoſe who were notori-

The temper of the city and the changes of their militia at this time.

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ous to be of any other faction in religion, had been put out; and lived as neglected and discountenanced men; who seemed rather to depend upon the clemency and indulgence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share or part in the government: yet, after all this dissimulation, Cromwell and Ireton well knew, that the multitude of inferior people were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many aldermen and substantial citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading men, who had governed the Parliament, prosecuted by the army, and that they forbore to come to the House, there flocked together great numbers of the lowest and most inferior people, to the Parliament, with petitions of several natures, both with reference to religion and to the civil government; with the noise and clamour whereof the Parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an ordinance, "that it should be criminal to gather and solicit the "subscriptions of hands to petitions." But this order so offended all parties, that they were compelled, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all men to their natural liberty. Whilst this confusion was in the city and Parliament, the commissioners, which had been sent to the army to treat with the officers, had no better success; but returned with the positive and declared resolution of the army, "that a declaration should be publish-"ed by the Parliament against the coming in of foreign "force:" for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the people should apprehend, a new combination by the

the Scots: "that the pay of the army ſhould be put "into a conſtant courſe, and all perſons who had re- "ceived money, ſhould be called to an account: that "the militia of London ſhould be put into the hands of "perſons well affected, and thoſe who had been for- "merly truſted: that all perſons impriſoned for pre- "tended miſdemeanours, by order of Parliament, or "their committees, might be ſet at liberty; and, if "upon trial they ſhould be found innocent, that they "might have good reparation." And they particularly mentioned John Lilburn, Overton, and other Anabaptiſts and Fanatics, who had been committed by the Parliament for many ſeditious meetings, under pretence of exerciſe of their religion, and many inſolent actions againſt the government. Upon the report of theſe demands, the Parliament grew more enraged; and voted, "that the yielding to the army in theſe particulars "would be againſt their honour, and their intereſt, and "deſtructive to their privileges;" with many expreſſions againſt their preſumption and inſolence: yet, when a new rabble of petitioners demanded, with loud cries, moſt of the ſame things, they were willing to compound with them; and conſented that the militia of the city of London ſhould be put into ſuch hands as the army ſhould deſire.

The militia of the city had been in the beginning of May, ſhortly after the King's being brought to Holmby, ſettled with the conſent, and upon the deſire, of the Common Council, by ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of commiſſioners, who were generally of the Preſbyterian party, they who were of other inclinations being removed; and, as is ſaid before, ſeemed not diſpleaſed at their diſgrace; and now, when upon the declarations and demands of the army, ſeconded by clamor-

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ous petitions, they ſaw this ordinance reverſed, in July, without ſo much as conſulting with the Common Council according to cuſtom, the city was exceedingly ſtartled; and ſaid, "that if the imperious command of "the army could prevail with the Parliament to reverſe "ſuch an ordinance as that of the militia, they had "reaſon to apprehend they might as well repeal the "other ordinances for the ſecurity of money, or for the "purchaſe of Biſhops' and Church lands, or whatſoever "elſe that was the proper ſecurity of the ſubject." And therefore they cauſed a petition to be prepared in the name of the city, to be preſented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpoſe. But, before they were ready, many thouſands, apprentices and young citizens, brought petitions to the Parliament; in which they ſaid, "that the com-"mand of the militia of the city was the birth-right of "the city, and belonged to them by ſeveral charters "which had been confirmed in Parliament; for defence "whereof, they ſaid, they had ventured their lives as far "and as frankly as the army had done; and therefore, "they deſired that the ordinance of Parliament of the "fourth of May, which had paſſed with their conſent, "might ſtand inviolable." They firſt preſented their petition to the Houſe of Peers, who immediately revoked their late ordinance of July, and confirmed their former of May; and ſent it down to the Commons for their conſent; who durſt not deny their concurrence, the apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce ſuffer the door of the Houſe of Commons to be ſhut; and ſome of them went into the Houſe.

A tumultuous petition of apprentices, and others, to both Houſes concerning their militia.

And in this manner the ordinance was reverſed that had been made at the deſire of the army, and the other of May ratified and confirmed; which was no ſooner done

done than the Parliament adjourned till Friday, that they might have two or three days to conſider how they ſhould behave themſelves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The army had quickly notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very ſharp letter to the Parliament from Bedford; in which he put them in mind, "how civilly the army had complied "with their deſire, by removing to a greater diſtance, "upon preſumption that their own authority would "have been able to have ſecured them from any rudeneſs, and violence of the people; which it was now "evident it could not do, by the unparalleled violation "of all their privileges, on the Monday before, by a "multitude from the city, which had been encouraged "by ſeveral common council men, and other citizens in "authority; which was an act ſo prodigious and horrid "as muſt diſſolve all government, if not ſeverely and "exemplarily chaſtized: that the army looked upon "themſelves as accountable to the kingdom, if this un-"heard of outrage, by which the peace and ſettlement "of the nation, and the relief of Ireland, had been "ſo notoriouſly interrupted, ſhould not be ſtrictly "examined, and juſtice ſpeedily done upon the of-"fenders." Upon Friday, to which both Houſes had adjourned, the members came together, in as full numbers as they had uſed to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the Houſe of Commons; but, after they had ſate ſome time in expectation of their Speaker, they were informed that he was gone out of the town early that morning; and they obſerved that Sir Henry Vane, and ſome few other members who uſed to concur with him, were likewiſe abſent. The Houſe of Peers found likewiſe that the Earl of Mancheſter, their Speaker, had withdrawn himſelf, together with the Earl

Upon this the General writ a very ſharp letter to the Parliament.

The two Speakers, with other members of the two Houſes, withdrew to the army.

Earl of Northumberland, and ſome other lords; but the major part ſtill remained there, full of indignation againſt thoſe who were abſent, and who they all concluded were gone to the army. Hereupon both Houſes choſe new Speakers; who accepted the office; and the Commons preſently voted, "that the eleven members "who ſtood impeached by the army, and had diſcon-"tinued coming to the Houſe, ſhould preſently appear, "and take their places." They made an ordinance of Parliament, by which a committee of ſafety was appointed to join with the city militia, and had authority to raiſe men for the defence of the Parliament; which they appeared ſo vigorouſly reſolved on, that no man in the Houſes, or in the city, ſeemed to intend any thing elſe. The news of this rouſed up the army, and the General preſently ſent a good party of horſe into Windſor, and marched himſelf to Uxbridge, and appointed a general rendezvous for the whole army upon Hounſlow Heath, within two days; when and where there appeard twenty thouſand foot and horſe, with a train of artillery, and all other proviſions proportionable to ſuch an army.

Both Houſes choſe new Speakers; and their votes.

As ſoon as the rendezvous was appointed at Hounſlow Heath, at the ſame time the King removed to Hampton Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the beſt time. The Houſes ſeemed for ſome time to retain their ſpirit and vigour, and the city talked of lifting men, and defending themſelves, and not ſuffering the army to approach nearer to them: but, when they knew the day of the rendezvous, thoſe in both Houſes who had been too weak to carry any thing, and ſo had looked on whilſt ſuch votes were paſſed as they liked not and could not oppoſe, now when their friend the army was ſo near, recovered their ſpirits, and talked very

Rendezvous of the army appointed on Hounſlow Heath, and the King removed to Hampton Court.

very loud; and perſuaded the reſt, "to think in time of "making their peace with the army, that could not be "withſtood." And the city grew every day more appalled, irreſolute, and confounded, one man propoſing this, and another ſomewhat contrary to that, like men amazed and diſtracted. When the army met upon Hounſlow Heath at their rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houſes, who had privately before met with the chief officers of the army, appeared there with their maces, and ſuch other members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "that they had not free-"dom at Weſtminſter, but were in danger of their lives "by the tumults;" and appealed to the army for their protection.

Both Speakers, and the other members, appear in the army on Hounſlow Heath.

This looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate the army from all reproaches, and to juſtify them in all they had done, as abſolutely done for the preſervation of the Parliament and kingdom. If this had been a retreat of Sir Harry Vane and ſome other diſcontented men, who were known to be Independents, and fanatics in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who, being no longer able to oppoſe the wiſdom of the Parliament, had fled to their friends for protection from juſtice, they would have got no reputation, nor the army been thought the better of for their company: but neither of the Speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army; Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of Mancheſter, who was Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable againſt Cromwell; and had formerly accuſed him of want of duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all men, and deſired to have taken away his life. The Earl of Man-

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chester and the Earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the Presbyterian party; and that they two, with the Earl of Northumberland, and some other of the Lords, and some of the Commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with Sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared to every stander-by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty, which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence in, the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force; which might have received a fatal repulse; but that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the King. But this schism carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it presently appeared, that the number of those who left the Houses was small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army, and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their resolutions, (which they did not yet seem in any degree to decline), yet this rent made all the accused members,

members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counſels, to withdraw themſelves upon the aſtoniſhment; ſome concealing themſelves, till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and tranſporting themſelves beyond the ſeas; whereof Stapleton died at Calais as ſoon as he landed, and was denied burial, upon imagination that he had died of the plague: others remained a long time beyond the ſeas; and, though they long after returned, never were received into any truſt in thoſe times, nor in truth concurred or acted in the public affairs, but retired to their own eſtates, and lived very privately.

The chief officers of the army received the two Speakers, and the members who accompanied them, as ſo many angels ſent from heaven for their good; paid them all the reſpect imaginable, and profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to them, as to the Parliament of England; and declared, "that they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full "power, or periſh in the attempt;" took very particular care for their accommodations, before the General; and aſſigned a guard to wait upon them for their ſecurity; acquainted them with all their conſultations; and would not preſume to reſolve any thing without their approbation; and they had too much modeſty to think they could do amiſs, who had proſpered ſo much in all their undertakings. No time was loſt in purſuing their reſolution to eſtabliſh the Parliament again at Weſtminſter; and finding that the reſt of the members continued ſtill to ſit there with the ſame formality, and that the city did not abate any of their ſpirit, they ſeemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better underſtanding between them, upon the meſſages they every day ſent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council, (for of thoſe at Weſtminſter they

took no notice), and quartered their army about Brentford, and Hounſlow, Twickenham, and the adjacent villages, without reſtraining any proviſions, which every day according to cuſtom were carried to London, or doing the leaſt action that might diſoblige or diſpleaſe the city; the army being in truth under ſo excellent diſcipline, that nobody could complain of any damage ſuſtained by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they ſent over Colonel Rainſborough with a brigade of horſe and foot, and cannon, at Hampton Court, to poſſeſs Southwark, and thoſe works which ſecured that end of London-bridge; which he did with ſo little noiſe, that in one night's march he found himſelf maſter without any oppoſition, not only of the Borough of Southwark, but of all the works and forts which were to defend it; the ſoldiers within ſhaking hands with thoſe without, and refuſing to obey their officers which were to command them: ſo that the city, without knowing that any ſuch thing was in agitation, found in the morning that all that avenue to the town was poſſeſſed by the enemy; whom they were providing to reſiſt on the other ſide, being as confident of this that they had loſt, as of any gate of the city.

This ſtruck them dead; and put an end to all their conſultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify thoſe whom they had ſo much offended and provoked; and how they might preſerve their city from plunder, and the fury of an enraged army. They who had ever been of the army party, and of late had ſhut themſelves up, and not dared to walk the ſtreets for fear of the people, came now confidently amongſt them, and mingled in their councils; declared, "that the King and the army were now agreed "in all particulars, and that both Houſes were now with "the

" the army, and had preſented themſelves to the King; " ſo that to oppoſe the army would be to oppoſe the " King and Parliament, and to incenſe them as much " as the army." Upon ſuch confident diſcourſes and inſinuations from thoſe with whom they would not have converſed, or given the leaſt credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confuſion and general diſtraction they were in, they ſent ſix aldermen and ſix commoners to the General; who lamented and complained, " that the " city ſhould be ſuſpected, that had never acted any " thing againſt the Parliament; and therefore, they de- " ſired him to forbear doing any thing that might be " the occaſion of a new war." But the General little conſidered this meſſage, and gave leſs countenance to the meſſengers; but continued his ſlow marches towards the city: whereupon they ſent an humble meſſage to him, " that ſince they underſtood that the reaſon of his " march ſo near London was to reſtore and ſettle the " members (the Lords and Commons) of Parliament to " the liberty and privilege of ſitting ſecurely in their ſe- " veral Houſes, (to which the city would contribute all " their power and ſervice), they prayed him, with all " ſubmiſſion, that he would be pleaſed to ſend ſuch a " guard of horſe and foot as he thought to be ſufficient " for that purpoſe; and that the ports and all paſſages " ſhould be open to them; and they ſhould do any " thing elſe that his Excellency would command." To which he made no other anſwer but " that he would " have all the forts of the weſt ſide of the city to be " delivered immediately to him;" thoſe of the other ſide being already, as is ſaid, in the hands of Rainſborough and his other officers. The Common Council, that ſate day and night, upon the receipt of this meſſage, without any pauſe returned " that they would

The city ſends ſix aldermen to the General, and ſubmits.

" humbly ſubmit to his command; and that now, un-
" der Almighty God, they did rely only upon his Ex-
" cellency's honourable word for their protection and
" ſecurity." And ſo they cauſed their militia to be forthwith drawn off from the line, as well as out of the forts, with all their cannon and ordnance; and the General appointed a better guard to both. At Hyde Park the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and beſought him " to excuſe what
" they had, out of their good meaning and deſire of
" peace, done amiſs;" and as a teſtimony of their affection and duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the city, preſented a great gold cup to the General; which he fullenly refuſed to receive, and, with very little ceremony, diſmiſſed them.

The General conducts the two Speakers and other members to their ſeveral Houſes of Parliament.

He himſelf waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them, and their members, to the ſeveral Houſes, where the other members were then ſitting: even in the inſtant when the revolters, as they had called them, entered into the Houſes, the old Speakers aſſumed their places again, and entered upon their buſineſs, as if there had been no ſeparation. The firſt thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houſes, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each Houſe, of the great favours he had done to them: they thanked him " for the protection he had given to their perſons,
" and his vindication of the privileges of Parliament."
Then they voted " all that had been done by themſelves
" in going to the army, and in reſiding there, and all
" that had been done by the army, to be well and law-
" fully done;" as, ſome time after, they alſo voted,
" that all that had been done in the Houſes ſince their
" departure, was againſt law, and privilege of Parlia-
" ment, invalid and void:" then they adjourned to the

next

next day, without queſtioning or puniſhing any member who had acted there.

The army of horſe, foot, and cannon, marched the next day through the city, (which, upon the deſire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to ſupply an hundred thouſand pounds for the payment of the army), without the leaſt diſorder, or doing the leaſt damage to any perſon, or giving any diſreſpective word to any man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent diſcipline, and that both officers and ſoldiers were men of extraordinary temper and ſobriety. So they marched over London-bridge into Southwark, and to thoſe quarters to which they were aſſigned; ſome regiments were quartered in Weſtminſter, the Strand, and Holborn, under pretence of being a guard to the Parliament, but intended as a guard upon the city. The General's head-quarters were at Chelſea, and the reſt of the army quartered between Hampton Court and London, that the King might be well looked to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, ſate conſtantly and formally at Fulham and Putney, to provide that no other ſettlement ſhould be made for the government of the kingdom than what they ſhould well approve.

The army marches through the city, and quarters about it.

Whilſt theſe things were thus agitated between the army and the Parliament and the city, the King enjoyed himſelf at Hampton Court, much more to his content than he had of late; the reſpects of the chief officers of the army ſeeming much greater than they had been; Cromwell himſelf came oftener to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openneſs to Mr. Aſhburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful. Perſons of all conditions repaired to his Majeſty of thoſe who had ſerved him; with whom he conferred without reſervation; and the citizens flocked thi-

The King at Hampton Court.

ther as they had uſed to do at the end of a progreſs, when the King had been ſome months abſent from London: but that which pleaſed his Majeſty moſt, was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of Northumberland's houſe, at Sion, from the time the King came to Hampton Court, and had liberty to attend his Majeſty when he pleaſed; ſo that ſometimes he ſent for them to come to Hampton Court, and ſometimes he went to them to Sion; which gave him great ſatisfaction.

The King's diſcourſe and converſation with his children that were in the Parliament's power.

In this converſation, as if his Majeſty had foreſeen all that befell him afterwards, and which at that time ſure he did not ſuſpect, he took great care to inſtruct his children how to behave themſelves, if the worſt ſhould befall him that the worſt of his enemies did contrive or wiſh; and "that they ſhould preſerve unſhaken their "affection and duty to the Prince their brother." The Duke of York was then about fourteen years of age; and ſo, capable of any information or inſtruction the King thought fit to give him. His Majeſty told him, "that he looked upon himſelf as in the hands and diſ-"poſal of the army, and that the Parliament had no "more power to do him good or harm, than as the "army ſhould direct or permit; and that he knew not, "in all this time he had been with them, what he might "promiſe himſelf from thoſe officers of the army at "whoſe devotion it was: that he hoped well, yet with "much doubt and fear; and therefore he gave him this "general direction and command, that if there appeared "any ſuch alteration in the affection of the army, that "they reſtrained him from the liberty he then enjoyed "of ſeeing his children, or ſuffered not his friends to re-"ſort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at "pre-

" preſent, he might conclude they would ſhortly uſe " him worſe, and that he ſhould not be long out of " a priſon; and therefore that from the time he diſ- " covered ſuch an alteration, he ſhould bethink him- " ſelf how he might make an eſcape out of their power, " and tranſport himſelf beyond the ſeas." The place he recommended to him was Holland; where he preſumed his ſiſter would receive him very kindly, and that the Prince of Orange her huſband would be well pleaſed with it, though, poſſibly, the States might reſtrain him from making thoſe expreſſions of his affection his own inclination prompted him to. He wiſhed him to think always of this, as a thing poſſible to fall out, and ſo ſpake frequently to him of it, and of the circumſtances and cautions which were neceſſary to attend it.

The Princeſs Elizabeth was not above a year or two younger than the Duke, a lady of excellent parts, great obſervation, and an early underſtanding; which the King diſcerned, by the account ſhe gave him both of things and perſons, upon the experience ſhe had had of both. His Majeſty enjoined her, " upon the worſt " that could befall him, never to be diſpoſed of in mar- " riage without the conſent and approbation of the " Queen her mother, and the Prince her brother; and " always to perform all duty and obedience to both " thoſe; and to obey the Queen in all things, except in " matter of religion; in which he commanded her, " upon his bleſſing, never to hearken or conſent to her; " but to continue firm in the religion ſhe had been in- " ſtructed and educated in, what diſcountenance and " ruin ſoever might befall the poor Church, at that time " under ſo ſevere proſecution."

The Duke of Glouceſter was very young, being at that time not above ſeven years old, and ſo might well

be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made ſo deep impreſſion in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of religion, and commanded him poſitively, "never to be perſuaded or "threatened out of the religion of the Church, in which "he hoped he would be well inſtructed, and for the "purity and integrity whereof he bid him remember "that he had his father's teſtimony and authority;" his Majeſty told him, "that his infancy, and the tender-"neſs of his years, might perſuade ſome men to hope "and believe, that he might be made an inſtrument, "and property, to advance their wicked deſigns; and "if they ſhould take away his life, they might, poſſibly, "the better to attain their own ends, make him king; "that under him, whilſt his age would not permit him "to judge, and act for himſelf, they might remove "many obſtructions which lay in their way; and form "and unite their councils; and then they would deſtroy "him too. But he commanded him, upon his bleſſing, "never to forget what he ſaid to him upon this occa-"ſion, nor to accept, or ſuffer himſelf to be made king, "whilſt either of his elder brothers lived, in what part "of the world ſoever they ſhould be: that he ſhould "remember that the Prince his brother was to ſucceed "him by the laws of God and man; and, if he ſhould "miſcarry, that the Duke of York was to ſucceed in the "ſame right; and therefore that he ſhould be ſure never "to be made uſe of to interrupt or diſturb either of "their rights; which would in the end turn to his own "deſtruction." And this diſcourſe the King reiterated to him, as often as he had liberty to ſee him, with all the earneſtneſs and paſſion he could expreſs; which was ſo fixed in his memory that he never forgot it.

And

And many years after, when he was ſent out of England, he made the full relation of all the particulars to me, with that commotion of ſpirit, that it appeared to be deeply rooted in him; and made uſe of one part of it very ſeaſonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted him in his religion, and to perſuade him to become Roman Catholic for the advancement of his fortune.

In this manner, and with theſe kind of reflections, the King made uſe of the liberty he enjoyed; and conſidered as well, what remedies to apply to the worſt that could fall out, as to careſs the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition; of which he was not yet in deſpair; the chief officers, and all the heads of that party, looking upon it as their wiſeſt policy to cheriſh the King's hopes by the liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing courteſy towards all who had been of his party; whoſe expectation, and good word, and teſtimony, they found did them much good both in the city and the country.

At this time the Lord Capel, whom we left in Jerſey, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the army, left his two friends there; and made a journey to Paris to the Prince, that he might receive his Highneſs's approbation of his going for England; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his father's ſervice: and then that lord tranſported himſelf into Zealand, his friends having adviſed him to be in thoſe parts before they endeavoured to procure a paſs for him; which they eaſily did, as ſoon as he came thither; and ſo he had liberty to remain at his own houſe in the country, where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence,

The Lord Capel waits on the King at Hampton Court from Jerſey.

gence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at Hampton Court; and gave him a particular account of all that paſſed at Jerſey, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reaſons which induced thoſe of the Council to remain ſtill there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majeſty had never before been throughly informed, and which put it out of any body's power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill offices: and from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind letter to the Chancellor at Jerſey; full of hope "that he ſhould conclude ſuch "a treaty with the army and Parliament, that he ſhould "ſhortly draw him, and ſome other of his friends, to "him." He thanked him "for undertaking the work "he was upon; and told him, he ſhould expect ſpee-"dily to receive ſome contribution from him towards "it;" and, within a very ſhort time afterwards, he ſent to him his own memorials (or thoſe which by his command had been kept, and were peruſed, and corrected by himſelf) of all that had paſſed from the time he had left his Majeſty at Oxford, when he waited upon the Prince into the Weſt, to the very day that the King left Oxford to go to the Scots; out of which memorials, as hath been ſaid before, the moſt important paſſages in the years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord Capel his Majeſty imparted all his hopes and all his fears; and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it could "not be long before there would be a war between the "two nations; in which the Scots promiſed themſelves "an univerſal concurrence from all the Preſbyterians in "England; and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he wiſhed "that his own party would put themſelves in arms, "without which he could not expect great benefit by "the

The ſubſtance of the King's letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

" the ſucceſs of the other:" and therefore deſired Capel " to watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his friends to- " gether;" which he promiſed to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loſs of his own life. Then the King enjoined him "to write to the " Chancellor of the Exchequer, that whenever the " Queen, or Prince, ſhould require him to come to " them, he ſhould not fail to yield obedience to their " command;" and himſelf writ to the Queen, " that " whenever the ſeaſon ſhould be ripe for the Prince " to engage himſelf in any action, ſhe ſhould not " fail to ſend for the Chancellor of the Exchequer " to wait upon him in it." And many things were then adjuſted, upon the foreſight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

The Marquis of Ormond had, by ſpecial command and order from the King whilſt he was with the Scots at Newcaſtle, delivered up the city of Dublin to the Parliament, after the Iriſh had ſo infamouſly broken the peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole army before Dublin to beſiege it; by which he was reduced to thoſe ſtraits, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the Iriſh, or to the Parliament; of which his Majeſty being informed, determined, he ſhould give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full conditions for all thoſe who had ſerved his Majeſty; and ſo tranſported himſelf into England, and, from London, preſented himſelf to the King at Hampton Court; who received him with extraordinary grace, as a perſon who had ſerved him with great zeal and fidelity, and with the moſt univerſal teſtimony of all good men that any man could receive. He uſed leſs application to the Parliament and army than other men, relying

The Marquis of Ormond likewiſe waits on the King at Hampton Court

relying upon the articles the Parliament had ſigned to him; by which he had liberty to ſtay ſo many months in England, and at the end thereof to tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the ſeas, if in the mean time he made no compoſition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to preſent his duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleaſed to confer with him, and to find that he was reſolved to undertake any enterpriſe that might advance his ſervice; which the King himſelf, and moſt other men who wiſhed well to it, did at that time believe to be in no deſperate condition. And no men were fuller of profeſſions of duty, and a reſolution to run all hazards, than the Scottiſh commiſſioners; who, from the time they had delivered up the King, reſided at London with their uſual confidence, and loudly complained of the preſumption of the army in ſeizing upon the perſon of the King, inſinuated themſelves to all thoſe who were thought to be moſt conſtant, and inſeparable from the intereſt of the Crown, with paſſionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united, to a man, in any enterpriſe for his ſervice. And now, from the time his Majeſty came to Hampton Court, they came to him with as much preſumption as if they had carried him to Edinburgh; which was the more notorious, and was thought to ſignify the more, becauſe their perſons were known to be moſt odious to all the great officers in the army, and to thoſe who now governed in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavoured to be performed the next year enſuing, and which the Scots themſelves then communicated to the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Capel, and other truſty perſons; as if there was nothing

And Scottiſh commiſſioners.

nothing elſe intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majeſty's rights and intereſt.

When the army had thus ſubdued all oppoſition, and the Parliament and they ſeemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city ſeemed to be ſuppreſſed, and totally tamed, the army ſeemed leſs regardful of the King than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton Court, nor had they the ſame countenances towards Aſhburnham, and Berkley, as they uſed to have; they were not at leiſure to ſpeak with them, and when they did, aſked captious queſtions, and gave anſwers themſelves of no ſignification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, ſent ſome propoſitions to the King, as ruinous to the Church and deſtructive to the regal power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in ſome reſpects, much worſe, and more diſhonourable; and ſaid, "if his Majeſty would conſent thereunto, they "would apply themſelves to the Parliament, and do "the beſt they could to perſuade them to be of the "ſame opinion." But his Majeſty rejected them with more than uſual indignation, not without ſome reproaches upon the officers, for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own deſigns, by making the world believe that they intended his Majeſty's reſtoration and ſettlement, upon better conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of reſentment, the army took itſelf to be diſobliged, and uſed another language in their diſcourſe of the King than they had, for ſome months, done; and ſuch officers who had formerly ſerved the King, and had been civilly treated and ſheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themſelves from their acquaintance; and the ſequeſtrations of all the eſtates of the Cavaliers, which

The army begins to be leſs regardful of the King.

which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practiſed, and the declared Delinquents racked to as high compoſitions; which if they refuſed to make, their whole eſtates were taken from them, and their perſons expoſed to affronts, and inſecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Preſbyterian humour in the Parliament againſt the judgment of the army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was ſo far ſubdued, that it no more found fault with what the army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what ſettlement ſhould be made in the government; yet, in all their own acts and proceedings, they proſecuted a Preſbyterian ſettlement as earneſtly as they could. The Covenant was preſſed in all places, and the Anabaptiſts and other ſects, which begun to abound, were puniſhed, reſtrained, and diſcountenanced; which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender conſciences; which, they pretended, was as much the original of the quarrel, as any other grievance whatſoever.

The Univerſity of Oxford viſited by the Parliament.

In this year, 1647, they had begun a viſitation of the Univerſity of Oxford; which they finiſhed not till the next year; in which the Earl of Pembroke had been contented to be employed as Chancellor of the Univerſity, who had taken an oath to defend the rights and privileges of the Univerſity: notwithſtanding which, out of the extreme weakneſs of his underſtanding, and the miſerable compliance of his nature, he ſuffered himſelf to be made a property in joining with Brent, Pryn, and ſome committee men, and Preſbyterian miniſters, as commiſſioners for the Parliament to reform the diſcipline and erroneous doctrine of that famous Univerſity, by the rule of the Covenant; which was the ſtandard of all men's learning, and ability to govern; all perſons

of

of what quality ſoever being required to ſubſcribe that teſt; which the whole body of the Univerſity was ſo far from ſubmitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal renown, (being at the ſame time under a ſtrict and ſtrong garriſon, put over them by the Parliament; the King in priſon; and all their hopes deſperate), paſſed a public act, and declaration againſt the Covenant, with ſuch invincible arguments of the illegality, wickedneſs, and perjury contained in it, that no man of the contrary opinion, nor the Aſſembly of the Divines, (which then ſate at Weſtminſter, forming a new catechiſm, and ſcheme of religion), ever ventured to make any anſwer to it; nor is it indeed to be anſwered, but muſt remain to the world's end, as a monument of the learning, courage, and loyalty, of that excellent place, againſt the higheſt malice and tyranny that was ever exerciſed in or over any nation; and which thoſe famous commiſſioners only anſwered by expelling all thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to their juriſdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole Univerſity; ſcarce one governor and maſter of college or hall, and an incredible ſmall number of the fellows, or ſcholars, ſubmitting to either: whereupon that deſolation being made, they placed in their rooms the moſt notorious factious Preſbyterians, in the government of the ſeveral colleges or halls; and ſuch other of the ſame leaven in the fellowſhips, and ſcholars' places, of thoſe whom they had expelled, without any regard to the ſtatutes of the ſeveral Founders, and the incapacities of the perſons that were put in. The omnipotence of an ordinance of Parliament confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending againſt it.

The Oxford Reaſons againſt the Covenant paſſed in Convocation at this time.

It might reaſonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous

barbarous depopulation would even extirpate all that learning, religion, and loyalty, which had ſo eminently flouriſhed there; and that the ſucceeding ill huſbandry, and unſkilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in ignorance, profanation, atheiſm, and rebellion; but, by God's wonderful bleſſing, the goodneſs and richneſs of that ſoil could not be made barren by all that ſtupidity and negligence. It choaked the weeds, and would not ſuffer the poiſonous ſeeds, which were ſown with induſtry enough, to ſpring up; but after ſeveral tyrannical governments, mutually ſucceeding each other, and with the ſame malice and perverſeneſs endeavouring to extinguiſh all good literature and allegiance, it yielded a harveſt of extraordinary good and ſound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themſelves to the ſtudy of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; ſo that when it pleaſed God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne, he found that Univerſity (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewiſe rejected the ill infuſions which had been induſtriouſly poured into it) abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience, little inferior to what it was before its deſolation; which was a lively inſtance of God's mercy, and purpoſe, for ever ſo to provide for his Church, that the gates of hell ſhall never prevail againſt it; which were never opened wider, nor with more malice, than in that time.

Theſe violent proceedings in all places, blaſted all the King's hopes, and put an end to all the reſt and quiet he had for ſome time enjoyed; nor could he deviſe any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither elſe to reſort

reſort for help. The officers of thoſe guards which were aſſigned to attend his perſon, and who had behaved themſelves with good manners, and duty towards him, and very civilly towards thoſe of his party who had uſed to wait upon his Majeſty, begun now to murmur at ſo great reſort to him, and to uſe many, who came, rudely; and not to ſuffer them to go into the room where the King was; or, which was worſe, put them out when they were there; and when his Majeſty ſeemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they appeared not to be concerned, nor anſwered him with that duty they had uſed to do. They affronted the Scottiſh commiſſioners very notably, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak with the King; which cauſed an expoſtulation from the Parliament; which removed the obſtruction for the future, but procured no ſatisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the ſame officers more civil towards their perſons. Aſhburnham and Berkley received many advertiſements from ſome officers with whom they had moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been reſtored by the army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their ſhare, "that Cromwell and Ireton reſolved never to "truſt the King, or to do any thing towards his reſtora-"tion;" and they two ſteered the whole body; and therefore it was adviſed, "that ſome way might be found "to remove his Majeſty out of their hands." Major Huntington, one of the beſt officers they had, and Major to Cromwell's own regiment of horſe, upon whom he relied in any enterpriſe of importance more than upon any man, had been employed by him to the King, to ſay thoſe things from him which had given the King the moſt confidence, and was much more than he had ever ſaid to Aſhburnham; and the Major did

really believe that he had meant all he ſaid, and the King had a good opinion of the integrity of the Major, upon the teſtimony he had received from ſome he knew had no mind to deceive his Majeſty; and the man merited the teſtimony they gave him. He, when he obſerved Cromwell to grow colder in his expreſſions for the King than he had formerly been, expoſtulated with him in very ſharp terms, for "abuſing him, and making him "the inſtrument to cozen the King;" and, though the other endeavoured to perſuade him that all ſhould be well, he informed his Majeſty of all he had obſerved; and told him, "that Cromwell was a villain, and would "deſtroy him if he were not prevented;" and, in a ſhort time after, he gave up his commiſſion, and would ſerve no longer in the army. Cromwell himſelf expoſtulated with Mr. Aſhburnham, and complained "that the King "could not be truſted; and that he had no affection or "confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and "of all the officers: that he had intrigues in the Parlia-"ment, and treaties with the Preſbyterians of the city, "to raiſe new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded "with the Scottiſh commiſſioners to engage the nation "again in blood; and therefore he would not be an-"ſwerable if any thing fell out amiſs, and contrary to "expectation;" and that was the reaſon, beſides the old animoſity, that had drawn on the affront, which the commiſſioners had complained of. What that treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper place.

The Level-lers grew up in the army.

There was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own conſent, called *Levellers*; who ſpoke inſolently and confidently againſt the King and Parliament, and the great officers of the army; and profeſſed

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as a great malice againſt all the lords, as againſt the King; and declared, "that all degrees of men ſhould be "levelled, and an equality ſhould be eſtabliſhed, both "in titles and eſtates, throughout the kingdoms." Whether the raiſing this ſpirit was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to ſome of his deſigns, or whether it grew amongſt thoſe tares which had been ſowed in that confuſion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at laſt, (which muſt be ſet down hereafter); but the preſent uſe he made of it was, that, upon the licentious diſcourſe of that kind, which ſome ſoldiers upon the guard uſually made, the guard upon the King's perſon was doubled; a reſtraint put upon the great reſort of people who came to ſee the King; and all pretended to be for his ſecurity, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted upon his life; which they ſeemed to apprehend, and deteſt. In the mean time, they neither hindered his Majeſty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor reſtrained thoſe who waited upon him in his bedchamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all theſe there was leſs civility exerciſed than had been; and the guards which waited neareſt were more rude, and made more noiſe at unſeaſonable hours than they had been accuſtomed to do; the captain who commanded them, Colonel Whaley, being a man of a rough and brutal temper, who had offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared to exerciſe any civility and good manners. The King, every day, received little billets or letters, ſecretly conveyed to him without any name, which advertiſed him of wicked deſigns upon his life, and ſome of them adviſed him to make an eſcape, and repair ſecretly into the city, where he ſhould be ſafe; ſome letters directing him to ſuch an alderman's houſe; all which his Majeſty looked upon as artifice to

lead him into ſome ſtraits, from whence he ſhould not eaſily explicate himſelf; and yet many who repaired to him brought the ſame advice from men of unqueſtionable ſincerity, by what reaſon ſoever they were ſwayed.

The King found himſelf in great perplexity, from what he diſcerned, and obſerved himſelf, as well as what he heard from others; but what uſe to make of the one or the other, was very hard to reſolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did deſign his murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an eſcape, if it were not contrived with wonderful ſagacity, would expoſe him to be aſſaſſinated, by pretended ignorance, and would be charged upon himſelf; and if he could avoid their guards, and get beyond them undiſcovered, whither ſhould he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the city ſeemed not to him to have a foundation of reaſon; they had been too late ſubdued to recover courage for ſuch an adventure; and the army now was much more maſter of it than when they deſponded. There is reaſon to believe that he did reſolve to tranſport himſelf beyond the ſeas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to paſs; but with whom he conſulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day diſcovered; they who were inſtrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the reſolution, or counſel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of November, the King having, the night before, pretended ſome indiſpoſition, and that he would go to his reſt, they who went into his chamber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his bed that night. There were two or three letters found upon his table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared "the reaſon of his remove to be, an apprehenſion that ſome "deſperate perſons had a deſign to aſſaſſinate him; and "therefore

The King eſcapes from Hampton Court, Nov. 11.

" therefore he had withdrawn himſelf with a purpoſe of " remaining concealed, until the Parliament had agreed " upon ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be fit for him to " conſent to; and he would then appear, and willingly " conſent to any thing that ſhould be for the peace and " happineſs of the kingdom." There were diſcovered the treading of horſes at a back door of the garden into which his Majeſty had a paſſage out of his chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his horſe to be there ready at an hour, and Sir John Berkley, Aſhburnham, and Legg, to wait upon him, the two laſt being of his bedchamber. Aſhburnham alone ſeemed to know what they were to do, the other two having received only orders to attend. When they were free from the apprehenſion of the guards, and the horſe quarters, they rode towards the ſouth-weſt, and towards that part of Hampſhire which led to the New Foreſt. The King aſked Aſhburnham, where the ſhip lay? which made the other two conclude that the King reſolved to tranſport himſelf. After they had made ſome ſtay in that part next the ſea, and Aſhburnham had been ſome time abſent, he returned without any news of the ſhip; with which the King ſeemed troubled. Upon this diſappointment, the King thought it beſt, for avoiding all highways, to go to Titchfield, a noble ſeat of the Earl of Southampton's, (who was not there), but inhabited by the old lady his mother with a ſmall family, which made the retreat the more convenient: there his Majeſty alighted, and would ſpeak with the lady; to whom he made no ſcruple of communicating himſelf, well knowing her to be a lady of that honour and ſpirit, that ſhe was ſuperior to all kind of temptation. There he refreſhed himſelf, and conſulted with his three ſervants, what he ſhould next do, ſince there was neither

He comes to Titchfield in Hampſhire.

ſhip ready, nor could they preſume that they could remain long there undiſcovered.

In this debate, the Iſle of Wight came to be mentioned (as they ſay) by Aſhburnham, as a place where his Majeſty might ſecurely repoſe himſelf, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel Hammond was Governor there, an officer of the army, and of neareſt truſt with Cromwell, having by his advice been married to a daughter of John Hambden, whoſe memory he always adored; yet, by ſome fatal miſtake, this man was thought a perſon of honour and generoſity enough to truſt the King's perſon to, and Aſhburnham and Berkley were ſent to him with orders, "firſt to be "ſure that the man would faithfully promiſe not to de- "liver his Majeſty up, though the Parliament or army "ſhould require him; but to give him his liberty to "ſhift for himſelf, if he were not able to defend him: "and except he would make that promiſe, they ſhould "not let him know where his Majeſty was, but ſhould "return preſently to him." With this commiſſion they two croſſed the water to the Iſle of Wight, the King in the mean time repoſing himſelf at Titchfield. The next day they found Colonel Hammond, who was known to them both, who had converſation with him in the army, when the King was well treated there, (and their perſons had been very civilly treated by moſt of the officers, who thought themſelves qualified ſufficiently for court preferments.) They told him, "that the King was "withdrawn from the army;" of which he ſeemed to have had no notice, and to be very much ſurpriſed with it. They then ſaid, "that the King had ſo good an "opinion of him, knowing him to be a gentleman, and "for his relation to Dr. Hammond, (whoſe nephew he "was), that he would truſt his perſon with him, and "would

The King ſends Aſhburnham and Berkley to Col. Hammond in the Iſle of Wight.

" would from thence write to the Parliament, if he would " promiſe that if his meſſage had not that effect which " he hoped it would have, he would leave him to him- " ſelf to go whither he thought fit, and would not de- " liver him to the Parliament, or army, if they ſhould " require it." His anſwer was, " that he would pay all " the duty and ſervice to his Majeſty that was in his " power; and, if he pleaſed to come thither, he would " receive and entertain him as well as he could; but " that he was an inferior officer, and muſt obey his ſu- " periors in whatſoever they thought fit to command " him:" with which when he ſaw they were not ſatiſ- fied, he aſked, " where the King was?" to which they made no other anſwer, " but that they would acquaint " his Majeſty with his anſwer, and, if he were ſatisfied " with it, they would return to him again." He de- manded " that Mr. Aſhburnham would ſtay with him, " and that the other might go to the King;" which Mr. Aſhburnham refuſed to do.

After ſome time ſpent in debate, in which he made many expreſſions of his deſire to do any ſervice to his Majeſty, they were contented that he ſhould go with them; and Aſhburnham ſaid, " he would conduct him " to the place where the King was;" and ſo, he com- manding three or four ſervants or ſoldiers to wait on him, they went together to Titchfield; and, the other ſtaying below, Aſhburnham went up to the King's chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had paſſed, and that Hammond was in the houſe, his Majeſty broke out in a paſſionate exclamation, and ſaid, " O Jack, thou haſt undone me!" with which the other falling into a great paſſion of weeping, offered to go down, and to kill Hammond: to which his Majeſty would not conſent; and, after ſome pauſing and de-

They bring Hammond to the King.

liberation, ſent for him up, and endeavoured to perſuade him to make the ſame promiſe, which had before been propoſed: to which he made the ſame anſwer he had done, but with many profeſſions of doing all the offices he could for his Majeſty; and ſeemed to believe that the army would do well for him. The King believed that there was now no poſſible way to get from him, he having the command of the country, and could call in what help he would; and ſo went with him into the Iſle of Wight, and was lodged at Cariſbrook-caſtle, at firſt with all demonſtration of reſpect and duty.

Hammond removes the King to Cariſbrook-caſtle.

The Author's opinion of this whole buſineſs.

It never appeared afterwards that the King was maliciouſly betrayed to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of thoſe he truſted; and his Majeſty himſelf never entertained the leaſt jealouſy, or ſuſpicion of it: yet the whole deſign appeared to be ſo weakly contrived, the not being ſure of a ſhip, if the reſolution were fixed for embarking, which was never manifeſt, the making choice of the Iſle of Wight, and of Hammond to be truſted, ſince nothing fell out which was not to be reaſonably foreſeen and expected, and the bringing him to Titchfield, without the permiſſion of the King, if not directly contrary to it, ſeemed to be all ſo far from a rational deſign and conduct, that moſt men did believe there was treaſon in the contrivance, or that his Majeſty entruſted thoſe who were groſsly impoſed upon and deceived by his greateſt enemies. Legg had had ſo general a reputation of integrity, and fidelity to his maſter, that he never fell under the leaſt imputation or reproach with any man: he was a very punctual and ſteady obſerver of the orders he received, but no contriver of them; and though he had in truth a better judgment and underſtanding than either of the other two, his modeſty and diffidence of himſelf never ſuffered him

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to contrive bold counſels. Berkley was leſs known among thoſe perſons of honour and quality who had followed the King, being in a very private ſtation before the war, and his poſt in it being in the fartheſt corner of the kingdom, and not much ſpoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; ambition and vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himſelf, and did not delight to converſe with thoſe who had not; but he never fell under any blemiſh of diſloyalty, and he took care to publiſh that this enterpriſe of the King's was ſo totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on horſeback at ſuch an hour, and had not the leaſt intimation of his Majeſty's purpoſe what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by Hammond, did him much credit, that when Hammond demanded that Aſhburnham ſhould remain with him whilſt the other went to the King, which Aſhburnham refuſed to do, Berkley did offer himſelf to remain with him whilſt Aſhburnham ſhould attend his Majeſty; ſo that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was caſt upon Aſhburnham; who was known to have ſo great an intereſt in the affections of his Majeſty, and ſo great an influence upon his counſels and reſolutions, that he could not be ignorant of any thing that moved him.

The not having a ſhip ready, if it were intended, was unexcuſable; and the putting the King into Hammond's hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were ſome who ſaid, that Aſhburnham reſolved that the King ſhould go to the Iſle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court; and the Lord Langdale often ſaid, "that being in Mr. Aſhburnham's chamber at that time, he had the curioſity, whilſt the other

"went

" went out of the room, to look upon a paper that lay " upon the table; in which was writ, that it would be " beſt for the King to withdraw from the army, where " he was in ſuch danger; and that the Iſle of Wight " would be a good retreat, where Colonel Hammond " commanded; who was a very honeſt man." And this was ſome days before his Majeſty removed. And then it was obſerved, that Hammond himſelf left the army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Iſle of Wight at a ſeaſon when there was no viſible occaſion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the army were at higheſt; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, becauſe Aſhburnham was not afterwards called in queſtion for being inſtrumental in the King's going away, but lived unqueſtioned long after in the ſight of the Parliament, and in converſation with ſome of the officers of the army who had moſt deceived him; and, which was more cenſured than all the reſt, that after the murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an eaſy rate, and lived at eaſe, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preſerved his reputation and credit with the moſt eminent of the King's party; and his remaining in England was upon the marriage of a lady by whom he had a great fortune, and many conveniences; which would have been ſeized by his leaving the kingdom; and he did ſend over to the King, and had leave to ſtay there; and ſometimes ſupplied the King with conſiderable ſums of money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by Cromwell, where he remained till his death; and the King was known to have had, to the laſt, a clear opinion of his affection and integrity; and when King Charles the Second returned,

turned, moſt of thoſe of greateſt reputation, as the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earl of Southampton, gave him a good teſtimony; yet then, the old diſcourſes were revived, and Major Huntington did affirm, "that "Mr. Aſhburnham did intend the King ſhould go to "the Iſle of Wight, before he left Hampton Court." Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did ſtill think that Cromwell and Ireton had overwitted him, and perſuaded him, upon great promiſes, that it ſhould prove for his Majeſty's benefit, and that they ſhould the ſooner do his buſineſs, that he ſhould withdraw from the army, and put himſelf into Hammond's hands; for if in truth tranſportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a ſhip would not have been provided.

Sir John Berkley, who, ſhortly after the King's being in the Iſle of Wight, had tranſported himſelf into France, and remained ſtill with the Duke of York to the time of King Charles the Second's return, and Mr. Aſhburnham, who continued in England, and ſo the more liable to reproach, had been ſo ſolicitous to wipe off the aſperſions which were caſt upon them jointly, that they had it in care to preſerve the reputation of a joint innocence; but whilſt each endeavoured to clear himſelf, he objected or imputed ſomewhat to the other, that made him liable to juſt cenſure; and, in this contention, their friends mentioned their ſeveral diſcourſes ſo loudly, and ſo paſſionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they loved beſt, that they contracted a very avowed animoſity againſt each other; inſomuch as it was generally believed upon the King's return, that they would, with ſome fierceneſs, have expoſtulated with each other in that way which angry men chooſe to determine the right, or that both of them would

would have desired the King to have caused the whole to be so strictly examined, that the world might have discerned, where the faults or oversights had been, if no worse could have been charged upon them: but they applied themselves to neither of those expedients, and lived only as men who took no delight in each other's conversation, and who did not desire to cherish any familiarity together. And the King, who was satisfied that there had been no treasonable contrivance, (from which his father had absolved them), did not think it fit, upon such a subject, to make strict inquisition into inadvertencies, indiscretions, and presumptions, which could not have been punished proportionally.

It is true that they both writ apologies, or narrations of all that had passed in that affair, which they made not public, but gave in writing to such of their friends in whose opinions they most desired to be absolved, without any inclination that one should see what the other had writ; in which, though there were several reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of less moment, there was nothing in either that seemed to doubt of the integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that journey. I have read both their relations, and conferred with both of them at large, to discover in truth what the motives might be which led to so fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I should declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their loyalty or affection to the King, or suborned to gratify any persons with a disservice to their master. They were both of them great opiniators, yet irresolute, and easy to be shaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each other's understanding; but, as it usually

uſually falls out in men of that kind of compoſition and talent, they were both diſpoſed to communicate more freely with, and, conſequently, to be adviſed by new acquaintance, and men they had lately begun to know, than old friends, and ſuch whoſe judgments they could not but eſteem; who they had no mind ſhould go ſharers with them in the merit of any notable ſervice which they thought themſelves able to bring to paſs. Then, in the whole managery of the King's buſineſs, from the time that they came into the army, they never converſed with the ſame perſons; but governed themſelves by what they received from thoſe whoſe correſpondence they had choſen. Aſhburnham ſeemed wholly to rely upon Cromwell and Ireton; and rather upon what they ſaid to others than to himſelf. For beſides outward civilities, which they both exerciſed towards him more than to other men, they ſeldom held private diſcourſe with him, perſuading him "that it was "better for both their ends, in reſpect of the jealouſy "the Parliament had of them, that they ſhould under-"ſtand each other's mind, as to the tranſaction of any "particulars, from third perſons mutually entruſted be-"tween them, than from frequent conſultations to-"gether;" and Sir Edward Ford, who had married Ireton's ſiſter, but had been himſelf an officer in the King's army from the beginning of the war, and a gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reſerved and dark deſigns of his brother in law, was truſted to paſs between them, with ſome other officers of the army, who had given Aſhburnham reaſon to believe that they had honeſt purpoſes.

Berkley had not found that reſpect, from Cromwell and Ireton, that he expected; at leaſt diſcerned it to be greater towards Aſhburnham, than it was to him; which he

he thought evidence enough of a defect of judgment in them; and therefore had applied himself to others, who had not ſo great names, but greater intereſt, as he thought, in the ſoldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr. Staines, who, though a Doctor in Phyſic, was Quarter Maſter General of the army; and one Watſon, who was Scout Maſter General of the army; both of the Council of War, both in good credit with Cromwell, and both notable fanatics, and profeſſed enemies to the Scots and the Preſbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted and inſtructed to careſs Sir John Berkley, and, by admiring his wiſdom and conduct, to oblige him to depend on theirs; and diſſimulation had ſo great and ſupreme an influence on the hearts and ſpirits of all thoſe who were truſted and employed by Cromwell, that no man was ſafe in their company, but he who reſolved before, not to believe one word they ſaid. Theſe two perſons knew well how to humour Sir John Berkley, who believed them the more, becauſe they ſeemed very much to blame Ireton's ſtubbornneſs towards the King, and to fear that he often prevailed upon Cromwell againſt his own inclinations: they informed him of many particulars which paſſed in the Council of Officers, and ſometimes of advice from Cromwell, that was clean contrary to what the King received by Aſhburnham as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true, (as it may be the other was too), which exceedingly confirmed Sir John in the good opinion he had of his two friends. They were the firſt who poſitively adverti ſed the King by him, that Cromwell would never do him ſervice; and the firſt who ſeemed to apprehend that the King's perſon was in danger, and that there was ſome ſecret deſign upon his life.

I do not believe that Sir John Berkley knew any thing

thing of the King's purpoſe in his intended eſcape, or whither he reſolved to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he reſolved at ſuch an hour, and in ſuch a place, to take horſe, and was himſelf required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the King himſelf, when he took horſe, reſolved whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the city; others, that he intended for Jerſey; and that was the ground of the queſtion to Mr. Aſhburnham, "where is the ſhip?" Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Iſle of Wight. I am not ſure that Mr. Aſhburnham, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief officers of the army, and believed the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the levelling party, had not the Iſle of Wight in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make an eſcape from the army. It had been a difficult taſk to go about to diſſuade the King from an apprehenſion of his own ſafety, when it was much more natural to fear an aſſaſſination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr. Aſhburnham had ſo great a deteſtation of the Scots, that he expected no good from their fraternity, the Preſbyterians of the city; and did really believe that if his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into their hands, as was adviſed by many, with a purpoſe that he ſhould be there concealed, till ſome favourable conjuncture ſhould offer itſelf, (for nobody imagined that, upon his arrival there, the city would have declared for him, and have entered into a conteſt with that army which had ſo lately ſubdued them), the ſecurity of ſuch an eſcape was not to be relied on, and very earneſtly diſſuaded his maſter from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his

his was univerſally known, and, as hath been ſaid before, was an ingredient into the compoſition of that civility and kindneſs the officers of the army had for him. They did, to him, frequently lament the levelling ſpirit that was gotten into the ſoldiers, which they foreſaw would in the future be as inconvenient and miſchievous to themſelves, as it was, for the preſent, dangerous to the perſon of the King; which they ſeemed wonderfully to apprehend, and proteſted "that they knew not "how to apply any remedy to it, whilſt his Majeſty was "in the army; but that they would quickly correct or "ſubdue it, if the King were at any diſtance from "them;" and it is not impoſſible, that, in ſuch diſcourſes, ſomebody who was truſted by them, if not one of themſelves, might mention the Iſle of Wight as a good place to retire to, and Colonel Hammond as a man of good intentions; the minutes of which diſcourſe Mr. Aſhburnham might keep by him: for the Lord Langdale's relation of ſuch a paper, which he himſelf ſaw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a mere fiction; to which, beſides that he was a perſon of unblemiſhed honour and veracity, he had not any temptation: yet Mr. Aſhburnham did conſtantly deny that he ever ſaw any ſuch paper, or had any thought of the Iſle of Wight when the King left Hampton Court, and he never gave cauſe, in the ſubſequent actions of his life, to have his fidelity ſuſpected. And it is probable, that Cromwell, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and deſired to have taken his life, would have been glad to have blaſted his reputation, by declaring that he had carried his maſter to the Iſle of Wight, without his privity, upon his own preſumption; which, how well ſoever intended, muſt have

have been looked upon by all men as ſuch a tranſcendent crime, as muſt have deprived him of all compaſſion for the worſt that could befall him.

The ſudden unexpected withdrawing of the King made a great impreſſion upon the minds of all men, every man fancying that his Majeſty would do that which he wiſhed he would do. The Preſbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the city, (which they unreaſonably thought he might eaſily do), and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament and the army, and the many factions in the army, which every day appeared, to diſcover himſelf. The Cavaliers hoped that he would tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the ſeas, and quietly attend there thoſe alterations at home, which might probably in a ſhort time invite his return. The army was not without this apprehenſion, as imagining it the worſt that could fall out to their purpoſes.

The Parliament's behaviour upon the news of the King's withdrawing, and where he was.

The Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the army, was moſt frighted with the imagination that the King was in the city, and would lurk there until ſome conſpiracy ſhould be ripe, and all his party ſhould be preſent in London to ſecond it; and therefore they no ſooner heard that he was gone from Hampton Court, than they paſſed an ordinance of both Houſes, by which they declared, "that it ſhould be confiſcation "of eſtate, and loſs of life, to any man who preſumed to "harbour and conceal the King's perſon in his houſe, "without revealing, and making it known to the Parlia-"ment:" which, no doubt, would have terrified them all in ſuch a manner, that if he had been in truth amongſt them, he would quickly have been diſcovered, and given up. They cauſed ſome of the moſt notorious Preſbyterians' houſes to be ſearched, as if they had

been ſure he had been there; and ſent poſts to all ports of the kingdom, "that they might be ſhut, and no per-"ſon be ſuffered to embark, leſt the King, in diſguiſe, "tranſport himſelf;" and a proclamation was iſſued out, "for the baniſhing all perſons who had ever borne "arms for the King, out of London, or any place within "twenty miles of it;" and all perſons of that kind, who, upon ſtrict ſearch, were found, were apprehended, and put into ſeveral priſons with all the circumſtances of ſeverity and rigour. But all theſe doubts were quickly cleared, and within two days Cromwell informed the Houſe of Commons, "that he had received letters from "Colonel Hammond, of all the manner of the King's "coming to the Iſle of Wight, and the company that "came with him; that he remained there in the caſtle "of Cariſbrook, till the pleaſure of the Parliament "ſhould be known." He aſſured them, "that Colonel "Hammond was ſo honeſt a man, and ſo much de-"voted to their ſervice, that they need have no jealouſy "that he might be corrupted by any body;" and all this relation he made with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the King was where he wiſhed he ſhould be.

And now the Parliament maintained no farther conteſts with the army, but tamely ſubmitted to whatſoever they propoſed; the Preſbyterians in both Houſes, and in the city, being in a terrible agony, that ſome cloſe correſpondences they had held with the King during his abode at Hampton Court, would be diſcovered; and therefore would give no farther occaſion of jealouſy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit-inflammations; and they ſtoutly diſcharged their truſt.

But

But Cromwell had more cauſe to fear a fire in his own quarters, and that he had raiſed a ſpirit in the army which would not eaſily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were firſt formed by him to oppoſe the Parliament, and to reſiſt the deſtructive doom of their diſbanding, and likewiſe to prevent any inconvenience, or miſchief, that might reſult from the drowſy, dull Preſbyterian humour of Fairfax; who wiſhed nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring it all to paſs: theſe Agitators had hitherto tranſcribed faithfully all the copies he had given them, and offered ſuch advices to the Parliament, and inſiſted upon ſuch expoſtulations and demands, as were neceſſary, whilſt there was either any purpoſe to treat with the King, or any reaſon to flatter his party. But now the King was gone from the army, and in ſuch a place as the army could have no recourſe to him, and that the Parliament was become of ſo ſoft a temper, that the party of the army that was in it could make all neceſſary impreſſion upon them, he deſired to reſtrain the Agitators from that liberty which they had ſo long enjoyed, and to keep them within ſtricter rules of obedience to their ſuperiors, and to hinder their future meetings, and conſultations concerning the ſettling the government of the kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be ſolely left to the Parliament; whoſe authority, for the preſent, he thought beſt to uphold, and by it to eſtabliſh all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be ſo diſmiſſed from State affairs, of which they had ſo pleaſant a reliſh; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had ſo much provoked; and therefore, when they were admitted no more to conſultations with their officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their officers,

as any part of the Church or State. They entered into new aſſociations, and made many propoſitions to their officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equality into all conditions, and a parity among all men; from whence they had the appellation of *Levellers*; which appeared a great party. They did not only meet againſt the expreſs command of their officers, but drew very conſiderable parties of the army to rendezvous, without the order or privity of their ſuperiors; and there perſuaded them to enter into ſuch engagements, as would in a ſhort time have diſſolved the government of the army, and abſolved them from a dependence upon their general officers. The ſuppreſſion of this licence put Cromwell to the expence of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; ſo that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preſervation of their authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and ſent ſome falſe brothers to comply in the counſels of the conſpirators, by that means having notice of their rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary guard at thoſe meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having aſked ſome queſtions of thoſe whom he obſerved moſt active, and receiving inſolent anſwers, he knocked two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the reſt with his troop; and took ſuch a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he preſently cauſed ſome to be hanged, and ſent others to London to a more formal trial. By two or three ſuch encounters, for the obſtinacy continued long, he totally ſubdued that ſpirit in the army, though it continued and increaſed very much in the kingdom; and if it had not been encountered at that time with that rough and briſk temper of Cromwell, it would preſently have produced all imaginable confuſion in the Parliament, army, and kingdom.

[a] tumult of the Levellers.

All

All oppoſition being thus ſuppreſſed, and quieted, and Cromwell needing no other aſſiſtance to the carrying on his deſigns, than the preſent temper and inclination of the Parliament, they ſent a meſſage to the King, briefly propoſing to him, "that he would forthwith grant "his royal aſſent to four Acts of Parliament; which "they then ſent to him." By one of them, he was to confeſs the war to have been raiſed by him againſt the Parliament; and ſo that he was guilty of all the blood that had been ſpilt. By another, he was totally to diſſolve the government of the Church by Biſhops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the Church to ſuch uſes as they propoſed; leaving the ſettling a future government in the place thereof to farther time and counſels. By a third, he was to grant, and ſettle the militia in the manner and in the perſons propoſed, reſerving not ſo much power in himſelf as any ſubject was capable of. In the laſt place, he was in effect to ſacrifice all thoſe, who had ſerved or adhered to him, to the mercy of the Parliament.

The Parliament ſends a meſſage to the King to paſs four Acts.

The perſons, who were ſent with theſe four bills, had liberty given to expect the King's anſwer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the commiſſioners of Parliament there came likewiſe the commiſſioners of Scotland, who, after the four bills were delivered, and read to the King, the very next day, deſired an audience; and, with much formality and confidence, delivered a declaration, and proteſtation on the behalf of the kingdom of Scotland againſt thoſe bills and propoſitions. They ſaid, "they were ſo prejudicial "to religion, the crown, and the union and intereſt of "the kingdoms, and ſo far different from the former "proceedings and engagements between the two king-"doms, that they could not concur therein; and there-

The commiſſioners of Scotland enter a proteſtation againſt them.

" fore, in the name of the whole kingdom of Scotland, " did declare their diſſent." The King had received advertiſement, that as ſoon as he ſhould refuſe to conſent to the bills, he ſhould preſently be made a cloſe priſoner, and all his ſervants ſhould be removed from him; upon which, and becauſe the commiſſioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his poſitive anſwer, he reſolved that his anſwer ſhould not be known till it was delivered to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his eſcape, before new orders could be ſent from Weſtminſter: ſo when the commiſſioners came to receive his anſwer, he gave it to them ſealed. The Earl of Denbigh, who was the chief of the commiſſioners, and a perſon very ungracious to the King, told him, " that " though they had no authority to treat with him, or to do " any thing but to receive his anſwer, yet they were not " to be looked upon as common meſſengers, and to carry " back an anſwer that they had not ſeen:" and, upon the matter, refuſed to receive it; and ſaid, "they would " return without any, except they might ſee what they " carried."

The King gives his anſwer to the Parliament commiſſioners.

His Majeſty conceived that their return without his anſwer would be attended with the worſt conſequences; and therefore he told them, " that he had ſome reaſon " for having offered to deliver it to them in that man- " ner; but if they would give him their words, that " the communicating it to them ſhould be attended with " no prejudice to him, he would open it, and cauſe it to " be read;" which they readily undertook, (as in truth they knew no reaſon to ſuſpect it), and thereupon he opened it, and gave it one to read. The anſwer was, " that his Majeſty had always thought it a matter of " great difficulty to comply in ſuch a manner with all

" engaged

" engaged intereſts, that a firm and laſting peace might " enſue; in which opinion he was now confirmed, ſince " the commiſſioners for Scotland do ſolemnly proteſt " againſt the ſeveral bills and propoſitions, which the " two Houſes of Parliament had preſented to him for " his aſſent; ſo that it was not poſſible for him to " give ſuch an anſwer as might be the foundation of a " hopeful peace." He gave them many unanſwerable reaſons, " why he could not paſs the four bills as they " were offered to him; which did not only diveſt him " of all ſovereignty, and leave him without any poſſibi- " lity of recovering it to him or his ſucceſſors, but " opened a door for all intolerable oppreſſions upon his " ſubjects, he granting ſuch an arbitrary and illimited " power to the two Houſes." He told them, " that nei- " ther the deſire of being freed from that tedious and irk- " ſome condition of life, which he had ſo long ſuffered, " nor the apprehenſion of any thing that might befall " him, ſhould ever prevail with him to conſent to any " one act, till the conditions of the whole peace ſhould " be concluded; and then that he would be ready to give " all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, in all particulars; " and for the adjuſting of all this, he knew no way " but a perſonal treaty, (and therefore very earneſtly " deſired the two Houſes to conſent to it), to be either " at London, or any other place they would rather " chooſe." As ſoon as this anſwer, or to the ſame effect, was read, he delivered it to the commiſſioners; who no ſooner received it than they kiſſed his hand, and departed for Weſtminſter.

The commiſſioners were no ſooner gone than Hammond cauſed all the King's ſervants, who till then had all liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the caſtle; and forbid any of them to repair thither any more; Preſently after, Hammond removes the King's old ſervants from about him.

more; and appointed a ſtrong guard to reſtrain any body from going to the King, if they ſhould endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled and ſurpriſed him, being an abſolute diſappointment of all the hope he had left. He told Hammond, "that it was not ſuitable to his engagement, and that it did not become a man of honour or honeſty to treat him ſo, who had ſo freely put himſelf into his hands. He aſked him, whether the commiſſioners were acquainted with his purpoſe to proceed in this manner?" To which he anſwered, "that they were not; but that he had an order from the Parliament to do as he had done; and that he ſaw plainly by his anſwer to the propoſitions, that he acted by other counſels than ſtood with the good of the kingdom."

This inſolent and imperious proceeding put the iſland (which was generally inhabited by a people always well affected to the Crown) into a high mutiny. They ſaid, "they would not endure to ſee their King ſo uſed, and made a priſoner." There was at that time there one Captain Burly, who was of a good family in the iſland. He had been a captain of one of the King's ſhips, and was put out of his command when the fleet rebelled againſt the King; and then he put himſelf into the King's army, where he continued an officer of good account to the end of the war, and was in one of the King's armies General of the ordnance. When the war was at an end, he repaired into his own country, the Iſle of Wight; where many of his family ſtill lived in good reputation. This gentleman chanced to be at Newport, the chief town in the iſland, when the King was thus treated, and when the people ſeemed generally to reſent it with ſo much indignation; and was ſo much tranſported with the ſame fury, being a man of more courage than

than of prudence and circumſpection, that he cauſed a drum to be preſently beaten, and put himſelf at the head of the people who flocked together, and cried "for God, the King, and the people;" and ſaid, "he "would lead them to the caſtle, and reſcue the King "from his captivity." The attempt was preſently diſcerned to be irrational and impoſſible; and by the great diligence and activity of the King's ſervants, who had been put out of the caſtle, the people were quieted, and all men reſorted to their own houſes; but the poor gentleman paid dear for his ill adviſed and precipitate loyalty. For Hammond cauſed him preſently to be made priſoner; and the Parliament, without delay, ſent down a commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, Wild, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for ſuch ſervices, preſided; who cauſed poor Burly to be, with all formality, indicted of high treaſon for levying war againſt the King, and engaging the kingdom in a new war; of which the jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemned him, and the honeſt man was forthwith hanged, drawn, and quartered, with all the circumſtances of barbarity and cruelty; which ſtruck a wonderful terror into all men, this being the firſt precedent of their having brought any man to a formal legal trial by the law to deprive him of his life, and make him guilty of high treaſon for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impreſſion upon the hearts of all men, than all the cruelties they had yet exerciſed by their courts of war; which, though they took away the lives of many innocent men, left their eſtates to their wives and children: but when they ſaw now, that they might be condemned of high treaſon before a ſworn Judge of the law for ſerving the

Thereupon Captain Burly ſtirs up the people in the iſland, but is quickly ſuppreſſed, condemned, and executed.

the King, by which their eſtates would be likewiſe confiſcated, they thought they ſhould be juſtified if they kept their hearts entire, without being involved by their actions in a capital tranſgreſſion.

How the King's anſwer is received by the Parliament; and Cromwell's ſpeech of the King thereupon.

Upon the receipt of the King's anſwer, there appeared a new ſpirit and temper in the Houſe of Commons; hitherto, no man had mentioned the King's perſon without duty and reſpect, and only lamented "that he was "miſled by evil and wicked counſellors; who being re-"moved from him, he might by the advice of his Par-"liament govern well enough." But now, upon the refuſal to paſs theſe bills, every man's mouth was opened againſt him with the utmoſt faucineſs and licence; each man ſtriving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterneſs of his invective. Cromwell declared, "that the King was a man of great parts, and great un-"derſtanding," (faculties they had hitherto endeavoured to have him thought to be without), "but that he was "ſo great a diſſembler, and ſo falſe a man, that he was "not to be truſted." And thereupon repeated many particulars, whilſt he was in the army, that his Majeſty wiſhed that ſuch and ſuch things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was diſpleaſed, and complained of it: "That whilſt he profeſſed with all ſo-"lemnity that he referred himſelf wholly to the Parlia-"ment, and depended only upon their wiſdom and "counſel for the ſettlement and compoſing the diſtrac-"tions of the kingdom, he had, at the ſame time, ſe-"cret treaties with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, how he "might embroil the nation in a new war, and deſtroy "the Parliament." He concluded, "that they might "no farther trouble themſelves with ſending meſſages "to him, or farther propoſitions, but that they might "enter upon thoſe counſels which were neceſſary to-

"wards

" wards the ſettlement of the kingdom, without having " farther recourſe to the King." Thoſe of his party ſeconded this advice with new reproaches upon the perſon of the King, charging him with ſuch abominable actions, as had been never heard of, and could be only ſuggeſted from the malice of their own hearts; whilſt men who had any modeſty, and abhorred that way of proceeding, ſtood amazed and confounded at the manner and preſumption of it, and without courage to give any notable oppoſition to their rage. So that, after ſeveral days ſpent in paſſionate debates to this purpoſe, they voted, " that they would make no more addreſſes " to the King, but proceed towards ſettling the govern- " ment, and providing for the peace of the kingdom, " in ſuch manner as they ſhould judge beſt for the be- " nefit and liberty of the ſubject:" and a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to inform and ſatisfy the people of this their reſolution, and the grounds thereof, and to aſſure them, " that they had lawful authority " to proceed in this manner." In the mean time, the King, who had, from the time of his coming to the Iſle of Wight, enjoyed the liberty of taking the air, and refreſhing himſelf throughout the iſland, and was attended by ſuch ſervants as he had appointed, or ſent for, to come thither to him, to the time that he had refuſed to paſs thoſe bills, from thenceforth was no more ſuffered to go out of the caſtle beyond a little ill garden that belonged to it. And now, after this vote of the Houſe of Commons, that there ſhould be no more addreſſes made to him, all his ſervants being removed, a few new men, for the moſt part, unknown to his Majeſty, were deputed to be about his perſon to perform all thoſe offices which they believed might be requiſite, and of whoſe fidelity to themſelves they were as well aſſured, as that they

Vote of no more addreſſes to the King, &c.

they were without any reverence or affection for the King.

It is very true, that within few days after the King's withdrawing from Hampton Court, and after it was known that he was in the Iſle of Wight, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windſor, where Cromwell and Ireton were preſent, to conſult what ſhould be now done with the King. For, though Cromwell was weary of the Agitators, and reſolved to break their meetings, and though the Parliament concurred in all he deſired, yet his entire confidence was in the officers of the army; who were they who ſwayed the Parliament, and the army itſelf, to bring what he intended to paſs. At this conference, the preliminaries whereof were always faſtings and prayers, made at the very council by Cromwell or Ireton, or ſome other *inſpired* perſon, as moſt of the officers were, it was reſolved, "that the King ſhould be proſecuted for his life "as a criminal perſon:" of which his Majeſty was advertiſed ſpeedily by Watſon, Quarter Maſter General of the army; who was preſent; and had pretended, from the firſt coming of the King to the army, to have a deſire to ſerve him, and deſired to be now thought to retain it; but the reſolution was a great ſecret, of which the Parliament had not the leaſt intimation or jealouſy; but was, as it had been, to be cozened by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majeſty eaſily perſuaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the people know their intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their declaration, "that they would make "no more addreſſes to the King," that by an interregnum

A meeting of Cromwell and the officers at Windſor, wherein they deſign the King's deſtruction.

regnum they might feel the pulſe of the people, and diſcover how they would ſubmit to another form of government; and yet all writs, and proceſs of juſtice, and all commiſſions, ſtill iſſued in the King's name without his conſent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himſelf, and by his immediate order, was now performed by the Parliament; and, inſtead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houſes to ſerve all their occaſions; which found the ſame obedience from the people.

The vote of no more addreſſes conded by a declaration.

This declaration of no more addreſſes contained a charge againſt the King of whatſoever had been done amiſs from the beginning of his government, or before, not without a direct inſinuation, as if "he had conſpired with the Duke of Buckingham againſt the "life of his father; the prejudice he had brought upon "the Proteſtant religion in foreign parts, by lending his "ſhips to the King of France, who employed them "againſt Rochelle:" they renewed the remembrance and reproach of all thoſe grievances which had been mentioned in their firſt remonſtrance of the ſtate of the kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contained in all their declarations before and after the war; which had been all ſo fully anſwered by his Majeſty, that the world was convinced of their rebellion and treaſon: they charged him with being "the "cauſe of all the blood that had been ſpilt, by his having made a war upon his Parliament, and rejecting all "overtures of peace which had been made to him; and "in regard of all theſe things, they reſolved to make no "more addreſs to him, but, by their own authority, to "provide for the peace and welfare of the kingdom."

This declaration found much oppoſition in the Houſe of

of Commons, in reſpect of the particular reproaches they had now caſt upon the perſon of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own publiſhed declarations to the people, charged upon the evil counſellors, and perſons about him; and ſome perſons had been ſentenced, and condemned, for thoſe very crimes which they now accuſed his Majeſty of. But there was much more exception to their concluſion from thoſe premiſes, that therefore they would addreſs themſelves no more to him; and John Maynard, a member of the Houſe, and a lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular and unjuſt proceedings, after he had with great vehemence oppoſed and contradicted the moſt odious parts of their declaration, told them plainly, "that by this reſolution "of making no more addreſſes to the King, they did, "as far as in them lay, diſſolve the Parliament; and "that, from the time of that determination, he knew "not with what ſecurity, in point of law, they could "meet together, or any man join with them in their "counſels: that it was of the eſſence of Parliament, "that they ſhould upon all occaſions repair to the "King; and that his Majeſty's refuſal at any time to "receive their petitions, or to admit their addreſſes, had "been always held the higheſt breach of their privilege, "becauſe it tended to their diſſolution without diſſolving them; and therefore if they ſhould now, on their "parts, determine that they would receive no more "meſſages from him, (which was likewiſe a part of "their declaration), nor make any more addreſs to him, "they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no "longer a Parliament: and then, how could the people "look upon them as ſuch?" This argumentation being boldly preſſed by a man of that learning and authority, who

Mr. Maynard's argument againſt it.

who had very ſeldom not been believed, made a great impreſſion upon all men who had not proſtituted themſelves to Cromwell and his party. But the other ſide meant not to maintain their reſolution by diſcourſes, well knowing where their ſtrength lay; and ſo ſtill called for the queſtion; which was carried by a plurality of voices, as they foreſaw it would; very many perſons who abhorred the determination, not having courage to provoke the powerful men by owning their diſſent; others ſatisfying themſelves with the reſolution to withdraw themſelves, and to bear no farther part in the counſels; which Maynard himſelf did, and came no more to the Houſe in very many months, nor till there ſeemed to be ſuch an alteration in the minds of men, that there would be a reverſal of that monſtrous determination; and many others did the ſame.

When this declaration was thus paſſed the Commons, and by them ſent to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence, the manner or the matter was of that importance as to need much debate; but, with as little formality as was poſſible, it had the concurrence of that Houſe, and was immediately printed and publiſhed, and new orders ſent to the Iſle of Wight, for the more ſtrict looking to and guarding the King, that he might not eſcape.

The publiſhing this declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the people, from what they expected it would produce; and it appeared to be ſo publickly deteſted, that many who had ſerved the Parliament in ſeveral unwarrantable employments and commiſſions, from the beginning of the war, in the city and in the country, withdrew themſelves from the ſervice of the Parliament; and much inveighed againſt it, for declining all the principles upon which they had engaged them.

them. Many private perſons took upon them to publiſh anſwers to that declaration, that, the King himſelf being under ſo ſtrict a reſtraint that he could make no anſwer, the people might not be poiſoned with the belief of it. And the ſeveral anſwers of this kind wrought very much upon the people, who opened their mouths very loud againſt the Parliament and the army; and the clamour was increaſed by the increaſe of taxes and impoſitions, which were raiſed by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the kingdom; and though they were ſo entirely poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom, and the forces and garriſons thereof, that they had no enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they diſbanded no part of their army; and notwithſtanding they raiſed incredible ſums of money, upon the ſale of the Church and the Crown lands; for which they found purchaſers enough amongſt their own party in the city, army, and country, and upon compoſition with Delinquents, and the ſale of their lands who refuſed, or could not be admitted, to compound, (which few refuſed to do who could be admitted, in regard that their eſtates were all under ſequeſtration, and the rents thereof paid to the Parliament, ſo that till they compounded they had nothing to ſupport themſelves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and neceſſities, and were compelled to make their compoſitions, at how unreaſonable rates ſoever, that they might thereby be enabled to ſell ſome part, to preſerve the reſt, and their houſes from being pulled down, and their woods from being waſted or ſpoiled); notwithſtanding all theſe vaſt receipts, which they ever pretended ſhould eaſe the people of their burden, and ſhould ſuffice to pay the army their expences at ſea and land, their debts were ſo great, that they raiſed the public taxes; and, beſides all cuſtoms and exciſe, they levied

levied a monthly contribution of above a hundred thouſand pounds by a land tax throughout the kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no enemy who contended with them, was an evidence that it would have no end, and that the army was ſtill to be kept up, to make good the reſolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the reſolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more inſupportable, by reaſon that, upon the publiſhing this laſt monſtrous declaration, moſt of thoſe perſons of condition, who, as hath been ſaid before, had been ſeduced to do them ſervice throughout the kingdom, declined to appear longer in ſo deteſtable an employment; and now a more inferior ſort of the common people ſucceeded in thoſe employments, who thereby exerciſed ſo great inſolence over thoſe who were in quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumſtances be what they would, no redreſs could be ever obtained, all diſtinction of quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior conſtables, ſix or ſeven years before, were now the juſtices of peace, and ſequeſtrators, and commiſſioners; who executed the commands of the Parliament, in all the counties of the kingdom, with ſuch rigour and tyranny, as was natural for ſuch perſons to uſe over and towards thoſe upon whom they had formerly looked at ſuch a diſtance. But let their ſufferings be never ſo great, and the murmur and diſcontent never ſo general, there was no ſhadow of hope by which they might diſcern any poſſible relief: ſo that they who had ſtruggled as long as they were able, ſubmitted patiently to the yoke, with the more ſatisfaction, in that they ſaw many of thoſe

who had been the principal contrivers of all the miſchiefs to ſatisfy their own ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almoſt as ill a condition as themſelves, at leaſt to as little power, and authority, and ſecurity; whilſt the whole government of the nation remained, upon the matter, wholly in their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were ſcarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

The King being in this melancholic neglected condition, and the kingdom poſſeſſed by the new rulers, without control, in the new method of government, where every thing was done, and ſubmitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their peace, and future ſecurity; that beſides the general diſcontent of the nation, which for the preſent they did not fear, they were to expect new troubles from Ireland, and from Scotland; which would, in the progreſs, have an influence upon England.

The affairs of Ireland.

In Ireland, (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and conteſts between the Parliament and the army, and from the King's being in the army), though they were poſſeſſed of Dublin, and, upon the matter, of the whole province of Munſter, by the activity of the Lord Inchiquin, and the Lord Broghill; yet the Iriſh rebels had very great forces, which covered all the other parts of the kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the Iriſh, whom they vanquiſhed as often as they ſaw, and never declined fighting upon any inequality of numbers: they had an apprehenſion of another enemy. The Marquis of Ormond had often attended the King at Hampton Court, and had great reſort to him, whilſt he ſtayed in London, by

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all thoſe who had ſerved the King, and not leſs by thoſe who were known to be unſatisfied with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the army; and by the Scottiſh commiſſioners, who had frequently private meetings with him; inſomuch as the officers of the army, who gave the firſt motion to all extravagant acts of power, had reſolved to have apprehended and impriſoned him, as a man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his articles, he had liberty to ſtay ſix months where he would in England, (which time was little more than half expired), and then he might tranſport himſelf into what part he deſired beyond the ſeas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpoſe; and having conferred with his Majeſty as much as was neceſſary, upon a reaſonable foreſight of what was like to fall out, ſhortly after, or about the time that the King left Hampton Court, he in diſguiſe, and without being attended by more than one ſervant, rid into Suſſex; and, in an obſcure and unguarded port or harbour, put himſelf on board a ſhallop, which ſafely tranſported him into Normandy; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, at Paris; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis of Ormond tranſports himſelf out of England into France.

At the ſame time, there were commiſſioners arrived from Ireland from the confederate Roman Catholics; who, after they had driven the King's authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preſervation. The factions grew ſo great amongſt the Iriſh themſelves, and the Pope's Nuncio exerciſed his authority with ſo great tyranny and inſolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, as ſoon as they ſhould ſend more forces over, would eaſily, by reaſon of their diviſions, reduce them into great ſtraits and

and neceſſities. They therefore ſent commiſſioners to the Queen and Prince to deſire, "that, by their favour, "they might have the King's authority again among "them;" to which they promiſed, for the future, a ready obedience, with many acknowledgments of their former miſcarriage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of Antrim, who was one of the commiſſioners, and was always inſeparable from the higheſt ambition, (though without any qualifications for any great truſt), had entertained the hope, that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the government of Ireland ſhould be committed to him, and his conduct; which none of the other commiſſioners thought of, nor had their eyes fixed on any man but the Marquis of Ormond, in whom the King's authority was veſted; for he remained ſtill Lieutenant of Ireland by the King's commiſſion; and they had reaſon to believe that all the Engliſh Proteſtants, who had formerly lived under his government, (without a conjunction with whom, they well foreſaw the Iriſh would not be able to defend or preſerve themſelves), would return to the ſame obedience, as ſoon as he ſhould return to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of truſting any other in that moſt hazardous and difficult employment, and ſo referred the commiſſioners to make all their overtures and propoſitions to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted ſoever he was to the King's ſervice, nothing propoſed or undertaken by them, could have been the leaſt inducement to him to engage himſelf, and to depend upon their fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire zeal for the King's ſervice, to which he had dedicated himſelf, made him believe

lieve that he might with ſome ſucceſs appear again in that kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his ſo doing might have a good effect upon the temper of England towards the mending his Majeſty's condition there.

The reaſons that moved the Marquis to go again into Ireland.

Firſt, the Cardinal Mazarine (who then abſolutely governed France) ſeemed very earneſtly to adviſe it, and promiſed to ſupply him with a good ſum of money, and ſtore of arms and ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to diſpoſe of there. Secondly, he was privy to the Scottiſh engagement, and to a reſolution of many perſons of great honour in England, to appear in arms at the ſame time; which was deſigned for the ſummer following; whereby the Parliament, and army, which were like to have new diviſions amongſt themſelves, would not be able to ſend any conſiderable ſupplies into Ireland; without which, their power there was not like to be formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater encouragement than the other two, he had, during his abode in England, held a cloſe correſpondence with the Lord Inchiquin, Preſident of the province of Munſter in Ireland, who had the full power of command of all the Engliſh army there; which was a better body of men than the Parliament had in any other part of that kingdom. That lord was weary of his maſters, and did not think the ſervice he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole kingdom had been united to his Majeſty's ſervice) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the proceedings of the Parliament, and army, towards the King; and did therefore reſolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiſs, with expoſing all he had

had for his Majeſty's reſtoration; and had frankly promiſed the Marquis to receive him into Munſter, as the King's Lieutenant of that kingdom; and that that whole province, and army, ſhould pay him all obedience; and that againſt the time he ſhould be ſure of his preſence, he would make a ceſſation with the Iriſh in order to a firm conjunction of that whole kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into France, he received ſtill letters from that lord to haſten his journey thither.

Theſe were the motives which diſpoſed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's and the Prince's command to prepare himſelf for that expedition; and ſo he concerted all things with the Iriſh commiſſioners; who returned into their country, with promiſes to diſpoſe their General Aſſembly to conſent to thoſe conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

The Parliament had too many ſpies and agents at Paris, not to be informed of whatſoever was whiſpered there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the Iriſh, (for of the Lord Inchiquin they had no ſuſpicion), or were confident of the Cardinal's kindneſs, that he would not advance any deſign againſt them, they were not ſo apprehenſive of trouble from Ireland as they were of their brethren from Scotland; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpoſe to call a Parliament, and to raiſe an army; which, they believed, would find too many friends in England, the Preſbyterian party holding up their heads again, both in the Parliament, and the city. Beſides, they knew that ſome perſons of quality and intereſt, who had ſerved the King in good command in the late war, were gone into Scotland,

land, and well received there; which, they thought, would draw the King's party together upon the firſt appearance.

After the King had been ſo infamouſly delivered up to the Parliament by the Scots at Newcaſtle, and as ſoon as the army had poſſeſſed themſelves of him, that nation was in terrible apprehenſion that the officers of the army would have made their peace, and eſtabliſhed their own greatneſs by reſtoring the King to his juſt rights, of which they had ſo foully deprived him; and then the conſcience of their guilt made them preſume, what their lot muſt be; and therefore, the ſame commiſſioners who had been joined with the committee of Parliament in all the tranſactions, made haſte to Weſtminſter again to their old ſeats, to keep their intereſt; which was great in all the Preſbyterian party, both of Parliament and city; for there remained ſtill the ſame profeſſion of maintaining the ſtrict union between the two kingdoms, and that all tranſactions ſhould be by joint counſels. And as ſoon as the King appeared with ſome ſhew of liberty, and his own ſervants had leave to attend him, no men appeared with more confidence than the Scottiſh commiſſioners; the Earl of Lowden, the Earl of Lautherdale, and the reſt; as if they had been the men who had contrived his reſtoration: no men in ſo frequent whiſpers with the King; and they found ſome way to get themſelves ſo much believed by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent correſpondence, that her Majeſty very earneſtly perſuaded the King "to truſt them, as the only perſons who had "power and credit to do him ſervice, and to redeem "him from the captivity he was in." Duke Hamilton, who had been ſent priſoner by the King to the caſtle of Pendennis, and had been delivered from thence by the

army, when that place was taken in the end of the war, had enjoyed his liberty at London, and in his own houſe at Chelſea, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the Scottiſh army and at Newcaſtle; and ſome time before his Majeſty was delivered up to the Parliament commiſſioners, he went into Scotland to his own houſe at Hamilton; looked upon by that nation as one who had unjuſtly ſuffered under the King's jealouſy and diſpleaſure, and who remained ſtill very faithful to him; and during the time that he remained in and about London, he found means to converſe with many of the King's party, and made great profeſſions that he would do the King a very ſignal ſervice, which he deſired them to aſſure his Majeſty of; and ſeemed exceedingly troubled and aſhamed at his countrymen's giving up the King. His having no ſhare in that infamy made him the more truſted in England, and to be received with the more reſpect in Scotland by all thoſe who abhorred that tranſaction.

Duke Hamilton goes into Scotland.

The commiſſioners who attended his Majeſty made great apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholly to the "malice and power of the Marquis of Argyle, and "to his credit and authority in the council and in the "army; ſo that nothing could be done which was deſired "by honeſt men; but that now Duke Hamilton was "amongſt them, who they knew was moſt devoted to his "Majeſty, they ſhould be able to overpower Argyle; "and the proceedings of the army and the Parliament "were ſo foul, and ſo contrary to their public faith, "that they were confident that all Scotland would riſe "as one man for his Majeſty's defence and vindication; "and they were well aſſured, there would ſuch a party "in England of thoſe who were faithful to his Majeſty, "appear at the ſame time, that there would be little

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" queſtion of being able, between them, to be hard " enough for that part of the army that would oppoſe " them;" which his Majeſty knew well was reſolved by many perſons of honour, who afterwards performed what they had promiſed.

When the commiſſioners had, by theſe inſinuations, gained new credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their invading England with an army equal to the undertaking, ſhould be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend, (for no attempt in England could be reaſonable before ſuch an invaſion, which was likewiſe to be haſtened, that it might be at the ſame time when the Marquis of Ormond ſhould appear in Ireland), they begun to propoſe to him many conditions, which would be neceſſary for his Majeſty to engage himſelf to perform towards that nation; without which it would not be eaſy to induce it into ſo unanimous a conſent and engagement, as was neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe. They required, as a thing without which nothing was to be undertaken, " that the Prince of Wales ſhould be " preſent with them, and march in the head of their " army; and deſired that advertiſement, and order, " might be ſent to that purpoſe to the Queen and the " Prince at Paris; that ſo his Highneſs might be ready " for the voyage, as ſoon as they ſhould be prepared to " receive him." The King would by no means conſent that the Prince ſhould go into Scotland, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that party there; but he was contented, that when they ſhould have entered England with their army, then the Prince of Wales ſhould put himſelf in the head of them. They demanded, " that ſuch a number of Scotchmen " ſhould be always in the Court, of the Bedchamber,

The commiſſioners of Scotland's private treaty with the King at Hampton Court.

" and

" and all other places about the perſons of the King, " and Prince, and Duke of York: that Berwick and " Carliſle ſhould be put into the hands of the Scots;" and ſome other conceſſions with reference to the northern counties; which trenched ſo far upon the honour and intereſt of the Engliſh, that his Majeſty utterly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſo the agreement was not concluded when the King left Hampton Court. But, as ſoon as he was at the Iſle of Wight, the Scottiſh commiſſioners repaired to him, at the ſame time with thoſe who were ſent to him from the Parliament for his royal aſſent to thoſe four bills ſpoken of before; then, in that ſeaſon of deſpair, they prevailed with him to ſign the propoſitions he had formerly refuſed; and, having great apprehenſion, from the jealouſies they knew the army had of them, that they ſhould be ſeized upon, and ſearched in their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead; and buried it in a garden in the Iſle of Wight; from whence they eaſily found means afterwards to receive it. So conſtant were thoſe men to their principles, and ſo wary to be ſure to be no loſers by returning to their allegiance; to which neither conſcience nor honour did invite or diſpoſe them. So after a ſtay of ſome months at London to adjuſt all accounts, and receive the remainder of thoſe monies they had ſo dearly earned, or ſo much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland, with the hatred and contempt of the army, and the Parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the Preſbyterian party, which ſtill had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future negociation; which was now incumbent upon them: and, in order thereunto, a faſt intercourſe and correſpondence

Which treaty was renewed, and he ſigned it at the Iſle of Wight.

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was ſettled, as well by conſtant letters, as by frequent emiſſaries of their Clergy, or other perſons, whoſe devotion to their combination was unqueſtionable.

It can never be enough wondered at that the Scottiſh Preſbyterians, being a watchful and crafty people, the principal of whom were as unreſtrained by conſcience as any of the officers of the army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, ſhould yet hope to carry on their intereſt by ſuch conditions and limitations, as all wiſe men ſaw muſt abſolutely ruin and deſtroy it. They knew well enough the ſpirit of their own people, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the aſſiſtance they ſhould find ready to join with them in England. It is true, they did believe the body of the Preſbyterians in England to be much more conſiderable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the moſt conſiderable perſons who in the conteſt with the other faction were content to be thought Preſbyterians, were ſo only as they thought it might reſtore the King; which they more impatiently deſired, than any alteration in the government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the royal party, upon whoſe intereſt, conduct, and courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the Scots; who did publickly profeſs that all the King's friends ſhould be moſt welcome, and received by them: nor did they truſt any one Preſbyterian in England with the knowledge of the particulars contained in the agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three perſons who tranſacted it; and if it had been known, Cromwell might as eaſily

have

have overrun the country before their army invaded England, as he did afterwards; nor would one Engliſhman have joined with them. Beſides the infamous circumſtances by which they extorted conceſſions from the King, which would have rendered any contract odious, (it being made in thoſe four days, which were all that were aſſigned both to the Engliſh and Scottiſh commiſſioners, ſo that his Majeſty had not only no time to adviſe with others, but could not adviſe with himſelf upon ſo many monſtrous particulars as were demanded of him by both kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have ſubmitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his life appeared to be in more manifeſt danger by his refuſal), the particulars themſelves were the moſt ſcandalous, and derogatory to the honour and intereſt of the Engliſh nation; and would have been abominated, if known and underſtood, by all men, with all poſſible indignation.

The ſubſtance of the treaty ſigned the 26th of Dec. 1647.

After they had made his Majeſty give a good teſtimony of their League and Covenant, in the preface of their agreement, and "that the intentions of thoſe who "had entered into it were real for the preſervation of "his Majeſty's perſon and authority, according to their "allegiance, and no ways to diminiſh his juſt power "and greatneſs," they obliged him "as ſoon as he could, "with freedom, honour, and ſafety, be preſent in a free "Parliament, to confirm the ſaid League and Covenant "by Act of Parliament in both kingdoms, for the ſe-"curity of all who had taken, or ſhould take it." It is true, they admitted a proviſo, "that none who was un-"willing ſhould be conſtrained to take it." They likewiſe obliged his Majeſty "to confirm by Act of Par-"liament in England, Preſbyterian government; the "Directory

" Directory for worſhip; and the Aſſembly of Divines " at Weſtminſter, for three years; ſo that his Majeſty, " and his houſehold, ſhould not be hindered from uſing " that form of divine ſervice he had formerly practiſed; " and that during thoſe three years there ſhould be a " conſultation with the Aſſembly of Divines, to which " twenty of the King's nomination ſhould be added, " and ſome from the Church of Scotland; and there- " upon it ſhould be determined by his Majeſty, and " the two Houſes of Parliament, what form of govern- " ment ſhould be eſtabliſhed after the expiration of " thoſe years, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the word of " God: that an effectual courſe ſhould be taken by Act " of Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, " for the ſuppreſſing the opinions and practices of Anti- " Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturiſts, Ana- " baptiſts, Antinomians, Arminians, Familiſts, Brown- " iſts, Separatiſts, Independents, Libertines, and Seekers, " and, generally, for the ſuppreſſing all blaſphemy, hereſy, " ſchiſm, and all ſuch ſcandalous doctrines and practices as " are contrary to the light of nature, and to the known " principles of Chriſtianity, whether concerning faith, " worſhip, or converſation, or the power of godlineſs, or " which may be deſtructive to order and government, " or to the peace of the church or kingdom." The King promiſed, " that in the next ſeſſion of Parliament, " after the kingdom of Scotland ſhould declare for his " Majeſty, in purſuance of this agreement, he ſhould " in perſon, or by commiſſion, confirm the League and " Covenant in that kingdom; and concerning all the " Acts paſſed in the laſt Parliament of that kingdom," his Majeſty declared, " that he ſhould then likewiſe be " content to give aſſurance by Act of Parliament, that " neither he, nor his ſucceſſors, ſhould quarrel, call in " queſtion,

" queſtion, or command the contrary of any of them, nor " queſtion any for giving obedience to the ſame." Then they made a long recital of " the agreement the Parlia- " ment of England had made, when the Scots army re- " turned to Scotland, that the army under Fairfax ſhould " be diſbanded; and of that army's ſubmitting there- " unto; of their taking the King from Holmby, and " keeping him priſoner till he fled from them to the Iſle " of Wight; and ſince that time both his Majeſty, and " the commiſſioners for the kingdom of Scotland, had " very earneſtly deſired that the King might come to " London, in ſafety, honour, and freedom, for a perſonal " treaty with the two Houſes and the commiſſioners " of the Parliament of Scotland; which, they ſaid, " had been granted, but that the army had, in violent " manner, forced away divers members of the Parlia- " ment from the diſcharge of their truſt, and poſſeſſed " themſelves of the city of London, and all the ſtrengths " and garriſons of the kingdoms: and that by the " ſtrength and influence of that army, and their ad- " herents, propoſitions and bills had been ſent to the " King without the advice and conſent of the kingdom " of Scotland, contrary to the treaties which are between " the two kingdoms, and deſtructive to religion, his " Majeſty's juſt rights, the privileges of Parliament, and " liberty of the ſubject; from which propoſitions and " bills the Scottiſh commiſſioners had diſſented, and pro- " teſted againſt, in the name of the kingdom of Scotland."

After this preamble and recital, they ſaid, " that for- " aſmuch as his Majeſty is willing to give ſatisfaction " concerning the ſettling religion, and other matters in " difference, as is expreſſed in this agreement, the king- " dom of Scotland doth oblige and engage itſelf, firſt, " in a peaceable way and manner to endeavour that the " King

" King may come to London in ſafety, honour, and " freedom, for a perſonal treaty with the Houſes of Par- " liament and the commiſſioners of Scotland, upon ſuch " propoſitions as ſhould be mutually agreed on between " the kingdoms, and ſuch propoſitions as his Majeſty " ſhould think fit to make; and for this end all armies " ſhould be diſbanded: and in caſe that this ſhould not " be granted, that declarations ſhould be emitted by the " kingdom of Scotland in purſuance of this agreement, " againſt the unjuſt proceedings of the two Houſes of " Parliament towards his Majeſty and the kingdom of " Scotland; in which they would aſſert the right that " belonged to the Crown, in the power of the militia, " the Great Seal, beſtowing of honours and offices of " truſt, choice of the privy counſellors, and the right of " the King's negative voice in Parliament: and that the " Queen's Majeſty, the Prince, and the reſt of the royal " iſſue, ought to remain where his Majeſty ſhall think " fit in either of his kingdoms, with ſafety, honour, and " freedom: that, upon the iſſuing out this declaration, " an army ſhould be ſent out of Scotland into England, " for the preſervation and eſtabliſhment of religion; for " defence of his Majeſty's perſon and authority, and " reſtoring him to his government, to the juſt rights of " the Crown, and his full revenues; for defence of the " privileges of Parliament, and liberties of the ſubject; " for making a firm union between the kingdoms under " his Majeſty, and his poſterity, and ſettling a laſting " peace." In purſuance whereof, the kingdom of Scot- land was to endeavour " that there might be a free and " full Parliament in England, and that his Majeſty may " be with them in honour, ſafety, and freedom; and " that a ſpeedy period be ſet to the preſent Parliament. " And they undertook, that the army which they

" would

" would raiſe ſhould be upon its march, before the " meſſage and declaration ſhould be delivered to the " Houſes." It was farther agreed, " that all ſuch in " the kingdoms of England and Ireland, as would join " with the kingdom of Scotland in purſuance of this " agreement, ſhould be protected by his Majeſty in their " perſons and eſtates; and that all his Majeſty's ſub- " jects in England or Ireland who would join with him, " in purſuance of this agreement, might come to the " Scottiſh army, and join with them, or elſe put them- " ſelves into other bodies in England or Wales, for " proſecution of the ſame ends, as the King's Majeſty " ſhould judge moſt convenient, and under ſuch com- " manders, or generals of the Engliſh nation, as his " Majeſty ſhould think fit: and that all ſuch ſhould be " protected by the kingdom of Scotland, and their " army, in their perſons and eſtates; and where any " injury or wrong is done unto them, they would be " careful to ſee them fully repaired, as far as it ſhould " be in their power to do; and likewiſe when any injury " or wrong is done to thoſe who join with the kingdom " of Scotland, his Majeſty ſhall be careful of their full " reparation."

They obliged his Majeſty to promiſe " that neither " himſelf, nor any by his authority or knowledge, ſhould " make or admit of any ceſſation, pacification, or agree- " ment whatſoever for peace, nor of any treaty, propo- " ſitions, bills, or any other ways for that end, with the " Houſes of Parliament, or any army or party in England, " or Ireland, without the advice and conſent of the " kingdom of Scotland; and, reciprocally, that neither " the kingdom of Scotland, nor any having their autho- " rity, ſhould make or admit of any of theſe any man- " ner of way, with any whatſoever, without his Ma- " jeſty's

"jeſty's advice or conſent: and that, upon the ſettle-
"ment of a peace, there ſhould be an act of oblivion to
"be agreed on by his Majeſty, and both his Parliaments
"of both kingdoms: that his Majeſty, the Prince, or
"both, ſhould come into Scotland upon the invitation
"of that kingdom, and their declaration, that they
"ſhould be in honour, freedom, and ſafety, when poſſi-
"bly they could come with ſafety and convenience; and
"that the King ſhould contribute his utmoſt endeavour,
"both at home and abroad, for aſſiſting the kingdom
"of Scotland for carrying on this war by ſea and land,
"and for their ſupplies by monies, arms, ammunition,
"and all other things requiſite, as alſo for guarding the
"coaſts of Scotland with ſhips, and protecting all their
"merchants in the free exerciſe of their trade and com-
"merce with other nations; and likewiſe that his Ma-
"jeſty was willing, and did authorize the Scottiſh army
"to poſſeſs themſelves of Berwick, Carliſle, Newcaſtle
"upon Tyne, with the caſtle of Tinmouth, and the
"town of Hartlepool: thoſe places to be for retreat,
"and magazines; and that, when the peace of the
"kingdom ſhould be ſettled, the kingdom of Scotland
"ſhould remove their forces, and deliver back again
"thoſe towns and caſtles."

And as if all this had not been recompence enough for the wonderful ſervice they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promiſe, and undertake to pay, the remainder of that brotherly aſſiſtance which was yet unpaid upon the large treaty after their firſt invaſion of England, and likewiſe two hundred thouſand pounds, which remained ſtill due upon the laſt treaty made with the Houſes of Parliament for return of the Scottiſh army, when they had delivered up the King; and alſo, "that payment ſhould be made to the kingdom of

" Scotland, for the charge and expence of their army " in this future war, with due recompence for the loſſes " which they ſhould ſuſtain therein; and that due ſa- " tisfaction, according to the treaty on that behalf be- " twixt the two kingdoms, ſhould be made to the Scot- " tiſh army in Ireland, out of the lands of the kingdom, " or otherwiſe: and that the King, according to the in- " tention of his father, ſhould endeavour a complete " union of the two kingdoms, ſo as they may be one " under his Majeſty, and his poſterity; or if that cannot " ſpeedily be effected, that all liberties and privileges, " concerning commerce, traffic, manufactures, peculiar " to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall be common to " the ſubjects of both kingdoms without diſtinction; " and that there be a communication, and mutual ca- " pacity, of all other liberties of the ſubjects in the " two kingdoms: that a competent number of ſhips " ſhould be yearly aſſigned, and appointed out of his " Majeſty's navy, which ſhould attend the coaſts of " Scotland, for a guard, and freedom of trade of that " nation; and that his Majeſty ſhould declare that his " ſucceſſors, as well as himſelf, are obliged to the per- " formance of the articles and conditions of this agree- " ment; but that his Majeſty ſhall not be obliged to the " performance of the aforeſaid articles, until the kingdom " of Scotland ſhall declare for him in purſuance of this " agreement; and that the whole articles and conditions " aforeſaid ſhall be finiſhed, perfected, and performed, " before the return of the Scottiſh army; and that " when they return into Scotland, at the ſame time, " *ſimul et ſemel*, all armies ſhould be diſbanded in Eng- " land." And for a compliment, and to give a reliſh to all the reſt, the King engaged himſelf " to employ " thoſe of the Scottiſh nation equally with the Engliſh

" in

" in all foreign employments, and negociations; and " that a third part of all the offices and places about the " King, Queen, and Prince, ſhould be conferred upon " ſome perſons of that nation; and that the King and " Prince, or one of them, will frequently reſide in Scot- " land, that the ſubjects of that kingdom may be " known to them." This treaty and agreement being thus preſented to the King by the Scottiſh commiſſioners in the caſtle of Cariſbrook, his Majeſty was prevailed with to ſign the ſame the 26th day of December, 1647; and to oblige himſelf, " in the word of a King, " to perform his part of the ſaid articles;" and the Earl of Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, and the Earl of Lautherdale, and the Earl of Lanrick, being entruſted as commiſſioners from that kingdom, ſigned it likewiſe at the ſame time; and engaged themſelves " upon " their honour, faith, and conſcience, and all that is " dear to honeſt men, to endeavour to the utmoſt of " their power, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould en- " gage to perform what was on its part to be performed; " which they were confident the kingdom of Scotland " would do, and they themſelves would hazard their " lives and fortunes in purſuance thereof."

No man who reads this treaty (which very few men have ever done) can wonder that ſuch an engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contained ſo many monſtrous conceſſions, that, except the whole kingdom of England had been likewiſe impriſoned in Cariſbrook caſtle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was poſſible to be performed; and the three perſons who were parties to it were too wiſe to believe that it could be punctually obſerved; which they uſed as the beſt argument, and which only prevailed with the King, " that the treaty was only made

" to enable them to engage the kingdom of Scotland to " raiſe an army, and to unite it in his Majeſty's ſervice; " which leſs than thoſe conceſſions would never induce " them to do; but when that army ſhould be entered into " England, and ſo many other armies ſhould be on foot " of his Engliſh ſubjects for the vindication of his in- " tereſt, there would be nobody to exact all thoſe parti- " culars; but every body would ſubmit to what his " Majeſty ſhould think fit to be done;" which, though it had been urged more than once before to induce the King to conſent to other inconveniences, which they would never after releaſe to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it ſhould be inſerted under the ſame treaty, as it was, " that his Majeſty did de- " clare, that by the clauſe of confirming Preſbyte- " rian government by Act of Parliament, he is neither " obliged to deſire the ſettling Preſbyterian government, " nor to preſent any bills to that effect; and that he " likewiſe underſtands that no perſon whatſoever ſhall " ſuffer in his eſtate, nor undergo any corporal puniſh- " ment, for not ſubmitting to Preſbyterian government; " his Majeſty underſtanding that this indemnity ſhould " not extend to thoſe who are mentioned in the article " againſt toleration:" and to this the three earls like- wiſe ſubſcribed their hands, " as witneſſes only, as they " ſaid, that his Majeſty had made that declaration in their " preſence, not as aſſenters;" ſo wary they were of ad- miniſtering jealouſy to their maſters, or of being thought to be leſs rigid in ſo fundamental a point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

The Author's judgment of the different conduct of

There was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of thoſe who were thought to ſway the Preſbyterian counſels, and thoſe who

who governed the Independents, though they were equally masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrained by any scruples or motions of conscience, the Independents always doing that, which, how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally designed; and there were two reasons that might naturally produce this ill success to the latter, at least hindered the even progress and current which favoured the other. First, their councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many men, whose humours and natures must be observed, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other party was entirely led and governed by two or three, to whom they resigned, implicitly, the conduct of their interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awakened by the progress they had made. the two parties, the Independent English and the Presbyterian Scots.

In the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the Scots, formed all their counsels by the inclinations and affections of the people; and first considered how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolved to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless and wretched Clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted and

governed the people, and whose authority was prevalent upon their own wives, and in their domestic affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: whereas, on the other side, Cromwell, and the few others with whom he consulted, first considered what was absolutely necessary to their main and determined end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to cozen and deceive men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon motives how foreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolved, only to do what they believed the people would like and approve; and the other, that the people should like and approve what they had resolved. And this difference in the measures they took, was the true cause of so different success in all they undertook. Machiavel, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with those who take what he says from the report of other men, or do not enough consider themselves what he says, and his method in speaking: (he was as great an enemy to tyranny and injustice in any government, as any man then was, or now is; and says) "that a man "were better be a dog than be subject to those passions "and appetites, which possess all unjust, and ambitious, "and tyrannical persons;" but he confesses, "that they "who are so transported, and have entertained such wicked designs as are void of all conscience, must not think "to prosecute them by the rules of conscience, which "was laid aside, or subdued, before they entered upon "them; they must make no scruple of doing all those "impious things which are necessary to compass and sup-

"port

" port the impiety to which they have devoted themſelves;
" and therefore he commends Cæſar Borgia for not be-
" ing ſtartled with breach of faith, perjuries, and mur-
" ders, for the removal of thoſe men who he was ſure
" would croſs and enervate the whole enterpriſe he had
" reſolved, and addicted himſelf to; and blames thoſe
" uſurpers, who had made themſelves tyrants, for hop-
" ing to ſupport a government by juſtice, which they
" had aſſumed unjuſtly, and which having wickedly at-
" tempted, they manifeſtly loſt by not being wicked
" enough." The common old adage, " that he who hath
" drawn his ſword againſt his Prince, ought to throw away
" the ſcabbard, never to think of ſheathing it again,"
will ſtill hold good; and they who enter upon unwar-
rantable enterpriſes, muſt purſue many unwarrantable ways
to preſerve themſelves from the penalty of the firſt guilt.

Cromwell, though the greateſt diſſembler living, always made his hypocriſy of ſingular uſe and benefit to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent ſoever it ſeemed to be, but what was neceſſary to the deſign; even his roughneſs and unpoliſhedneſs, which, in the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to the ſmoothneſs and complacency, which his couſin, and boſom friend, Mr. Hambden, practiſed towards all men, was neceſſary; and his firſt public declaration, in the beginning of the war, to his troop when it was firſt muſtered, " that he would not deceive or cozen them by
" the perplexed and involved expreſſions in his commiſ-
" ſion, to fight for King and Parliament;" and therefore told them, " that if the King chanced to be in the body
" of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as ſoon
" diſcharge his piſtol upon him, as any other private
" perſon; and if their conſcience would not permit
" them to do the like, he adviſed them not to lift them-

" ſelves in his troop, or under his command;" which was generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might, by the profeſſions the Parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet ſerved his turn, and ſevered from others, and united among themſelves, all the furious and incenſed men againſt the government, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, upon whom they might depend, as one who would go through his work that he undertook. And his ſtrict and unſociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and exceſſes, to which moſt of the ſuperior officers under the Earl of Eſſex were inclined, and by which he often made himſelf ridiculous or contemptible, drew all thoſe of the like ſour or reſerved natures to his ſociety and converſation, and gave him opportunity to form their underſtandings, inclinations, and reſolutions, to his own model. By this he grew to have a wonderful intereſt in the common ſoldiers, out of which, as his authority increaſed, he made all his officers, well inſtructed how to live in the ſame manner with their ſoldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purpoſes: whilſt he looked upon the Preſbyterian humour as the beſt incentive to rebellion, no man more a Preſbyterian; he ſung all pſalms with them to their tunes, and loved the longeſt ſermons as much as they; but when he diſcovered that they would preſcribe ſome limits and bounds to their rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would expire as ſoon as ſome few particulars were granted to them in religion, which he cared not for; and then that the government muſt run ſtill in the ſame channel; it concerned him to make it believed " that the State had been more delinquent than " the Church, and that the people ſuffered more by the " civil

" civil than by the eccleſiaſtical power; and therefore " that the change of one would give them little eaſe, if " there were not as great an alteration in the other, and if " the whole government in both were not reformed and " altered;" which though it made him generally odious at firſt, and irreconciled many of his old friends to him; yet it made thoſe who remained, more cordial and firm: he could better compute his own ſtrength, and upon whom he might depend. This diſcovery made him contrive the new model of the army; which was the moſt unpopular act, and diſobliged all thoſe who firſt contrived the rebellion, and who were the very ſoul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to paſs, and changed a general, who, though not very ſharp-ſighted, would never be governed, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no eyes, and ſo would be willing to be led, all his deſigns muſt have come to nothing, and he remained a private colonel of horſe, not conſiderable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous compoſition.

After all the ſucceſſes of his new model, he ſaw his army was balanced by that of the Scots, who took themſelves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no leſs towards the ſuppreſſion of the King, than that under Fairfax had done; and after all the victories, and reduction of the King to that lowneſs, deſired ſtill a compoſition, and to ſubmit again to the ſubjection of the King: nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his reſolution to the contrary, leſt even many of thoſe who wiſhed the extirpation of monarchy, might be ſtartled at the difficulty of the enterpriſe, and with the power that was like to oppoſe them. He was therefore firſt to incenſe the people againſt the Scottiſh nation, " as being a merce-

" nary

" nary aid, entertained at a vaſt charge to the kingdom, " that was only to be paid their wages, and to be diſ- " miſſed, without having the honour to judge with " them upon what conditions the King ſhould be re- " ceived, and reſtored; the accompliſhing whereof " ought to be the particular glory of the Parliament " without a rival, and that the King might owe the " benefit wholly to them." And this was as popular an argument as he could embark himſelf in, the whole kingdom in general having at that time a great deteſtation of the Scots; and they who moſt deſired the King's reſtoration wiſhed that he might have as little obligation to them as was poſſible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this univerſal applauſe, he compelled the Scottiſh army to depart the kingdom, with that circumſtance as muſt ever after render them odious and infamous. There now ſeemed nothing more dangerous and deſtructive to the power and intereſt of the Engliſh army, in ſo general a diſcontent throughout the kingdom, than a diviſion, and mutiny within itſelf; that the common ſoldiers ſhould erect an authority diſtinct from their officers, by which they would chooſe to govern againſt their ſuperior commanders, at leaſt without them, and to fancy that they had an intereſt of their own ſevered from theirs, for the preſervation whereof they were to truſt none but themſelves; which had ſcarce ever been heard of before in any army, and was looked upon as a preſage of the ruin of the whole, and of thoſe who had adhered to them; yet, if he had not raiſed this ſeditious ſpirit in the army, he could not have prevented the diſbanding ſome part of it, and ſending another part of it into Ireland, before the Scots left Newcaſtle; nor have been able to have taken the King from Holmby into the hands

hands of the army, after the Scots were gone. And after all his hypocriſy towards the King and his party, by which he prevented many inconveniences which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again ſo unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cauſe to the King to ſuſpect the ſafety of his perſon, and thereupon to make his eſcape from the army; by which his Majeſty quickly became a priſoner, and ſo was deprived of any reſort, from whence many miſchiefs might have proceeded to have diſturbed his counſels. How conſtantly he purſued this method in his ſubſequent actions, will be obſerved in its place.

Contrary to this the Preſbyterian Scots proceeded, in all their actions after their firſt invaſion in the year 1640, and always interwove ſome conditions in their counſels and tranſactions, which did not only prove, but, in the inſtant, might have been diſcerned to be, diametrically oppoſite to their public intereſt, and to their particular deſigns. It is very true, that their firſt invaſion, ſaving their breach of allegiance, might have ſome excuſe from their intereſt. They were a poor people, and though many particular men of that nation had received great bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of England by King James and the preſent King, yet thoſe particular men, who had been and then were in the Court, were, for the moſt part, perſons of little intereſt in Scotland; nor was that kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themſelves expoſed to ſome late preſſures, which were new to them, and which their preachers told them "were againſt conſcience, and an invaſion of their "religion;" from which they had vindicated themſelves ſo rudely and unwarrantably, that they might well expect

pect to be called to an account hereafter, if thoſe perſons, whom they had moſt provoked, retained their intereſt ſtill with the King, and in his councils; from whom they were promiſed to be ſecured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into England with an army, give their friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and ſo to procure relief and ſecurity for both kingdoms. In this enterpriſe, the ſucceſs crowned their work; they were thought a wiſe and a reſolute nation; and after an unbloody war of above a year, they returned into their country laden with ſpoils and great riches; and were liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into England. But from their return from this expedition, their whole true intereſt conſiſted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his honour and intereſt from all aſſaults; and their being ſuborned afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his Engliſh rebels to their obedience, by the ſtrength and power of his arms) to make a ſecond invaſion of the kingdom, was a weak and childiſh engagement, directly oppoſite to their intereſt, except they had at the ſame time a reſolution to have changed their own government, and for ever to have renounced ſubjection to monarchy, (which was never in their purpoſe to do), or to withdraw it from the preſent King. Again, when his Majeſty had truſted them ſo far (which they had never reaſon to expect) as to put his royal perſon into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themſelves in the eyes of the world, and to undo ſome part of the miſchief they had done, it was ſurely their intereſt to have joined cordially with him, and firmly to have united themſelves to his party in vindication of the law, and the government eſtabliſhed;

eſtabliſhed; and if they had not had the courage at that time to have looked the Engliſh army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their intereſt to have retired with the King in the head of their army into Scotland; and, leaving good garriſons in Newcaſtle, Berwick, and Carliſle, all which were in their poſſeſſion, to have expected a revolution in England from the diviſions amongſt themſelves, and from ſome conjunction with a ſtrong body of the King's Engliſh party, which would quickly have found themſelves together; but the delivery of the King up, beſides the infamy of it, was, in view, deſtructive to all that could be thought their intereſt.

After all this, when they found themſelves cozened and deceived in all the meaſures they had taken, and laughed at and deſpiſed by thoſe who had deceived them, to have a new opportunity to ſerve the King, and then to inſiſt upon ſuch conditions as muſt make it impoſſible for them to ſerve him effectually, was ſuch a degree of weakneſs, and a depraved underſtanding, that they can never be looked upon as men who knew what their intereſt was, or what was neceſſary to advance their own deſigns. And yet we ſhall be obliged to obſerve how incorrigibly they adhered to this obſtinate and froward method, in all the tranſactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turned, as it could not but do, to their own ruin, and the deſtruction of that idol they adored, and paid their devotion to. But it is time to return to our diſcourſe, from whence this tedious digreſſion hath miſled us.

All deſigns and negociations, abroad and at home, being in this ſtate and condition, the King remained under a ſtrict and diſconſolate impriſonment, no man being ſuffered to ſpeak with him, and all diligence uſed

The King's condition in the Iſle of Wight at this time.

to

to intercept all letters which might paſs to or from him; yet he found means ſometimes, by the affection and fidelity of ſome inhabitants of the iſland, to receive important advertiſements from his friends; and to write to and receive letters from the Queen; and ſo he informed her of the Scottiſh tranſaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and ſeemed to have ſome eaſe; and looked upon it as a good omen, that in that deſperate lowneſs of his fortune, and notwithſtanding all the care that was taken that none ſhould be about him but men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and man, his Majeſty's gracious diſpoſition and generous affability ſtill wrought upon ſome ſoldier, or other perſon placed about him, to undertake and perform ſome offices of truſt, in conveying papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had natural duty; or ſome deſperate men had ſo much craft, and forecaſt, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in ſuch a change as they neither looked for, nor deſired. But many, who did undertake to perform thoſe offices, did not make good what they promiſed; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more uſefully betray.

The preſent condition of the Parliament.

In the Parliament, there was no oppoſition or contradiction in any thing relating to the public; but in all thoſe tranſactions which concerned particular perſons, with reference to rewards, preferments, or matter of profit, men were conſidered according to the party they were of; every day thoſe received benefit who had appeared moſt to adhere to the army; the notorious Preſbyterians were removed from places of profit and authority, which vexed them, and well prepared and diſpoſed them to be ready for revenge. But the pulpit-ſkirmiſhes were higher than ever; the Preſbyterians, in thoſe

thoſe fields, loſing nothing of their courage, having a notorious power in the city, notwithſtanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more learned and rational; who, though they had not ſo great congregations of the common people, yet infected, and were followed by, the moſt ſubſtantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition. To theſe men Cromwell and moſt of the officers of the army adhered, with bitterneſs againſt the other. But the divinity of the time was not to be judged by the preaching, and congregations in churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for devotion and religious aſſemblies, where the Biſhops had exerciſed ſuch illimited tyranny, and which had been polluted by their original conſecrations. Liberty of conſcience was now become the great charter; and men who were *inſpired*, preached and prayed when and where they would. Cromwell himſelf was the greateſt preacher; and moſt of the officers of the army, and many common ſoldiers, ſhewed their *gifts* that way. Anabaptiſts grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurred ſo far as to join with them for the utter aboliſhing of tythes, as of Judaical inſtitution; which was now the patrimony of the Preſbyterians, and therefore proſecuted by one party, and defended by the other, with equal paſſion and animoſity. If any honeſt man could have been at ſo much eaſe as to have beheld the proſpect with delight, never was ſuch a ſcene of confuſion, as at this time had ſpread itſelf over the face of the whole kingdom.

The Prince's condition at Paris.

During all this time, the Prince remained at Paris under the government of his mother, exerciſed with that ſtrictneſs, that though his Highneſs was above the age of ſeventeen years, it was not deſired that he ſhould meddle in any buſineſs, or be ſenſible of the unhappy condition

condition the royal family was in. The aſſignation which was made by the Court of France for the better ſupport of the Prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the Queen, and received by her, and diſtributed as ſhe thought fit; ſuch clothes and other neceſſaries provided for his Highneſs as were thought convenient; her Majeſty deſiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not conſiſt with the dignity of the Prince of Wales to be a penſioner to the King of France. Hereby none of his Highneſs's ſervants had any pretence to aſk money, but they were to be contented with what ſhould be allowed to them; which was diſpenſed with a very ſparing hand; nor was the Prince himſelf ever maſter of ten piſtoles to diſpoſe as he deſired. The Lord Jermyn was the Queen's chief officer, and governed all her receipts, and he loved plenty ſo well, that he would not be without it, whatever others ſuffered. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore his aid; and the Prince himſelf could obtain nothing but by him; which made moſt perſons of honour of the Engliſh nation who were driven into baniſhment, as many of the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom then were, chooſe rather to make their reſidence in any other place, as Caen, Rouen, and the like, than in Paris, where the Prince was, and could do ſo little: nor was this economy well liked even in France, nor the Prince himſelf ſo much reſpected as he would have been if he had lived more like himſelf, and appeared more concerned in his own buſineſs.

When the Marquis of Ormond came thither, he was received very graciouſly by the Queen, and conſulted with in all things, being the perſon moſt depended upon to begin to give a turn to their fortune, recommended to them

them by the King, and of the moſt univerſal reputation of any ſubject the King had. He preſſed a ſpeedy diſpatch, that he might purſue his deſigns in Ireland; where he longed to be, whilſt the affairs of that kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet ſent no ſupplies thither. He informed the Queen, and the Lord Jermyn, of the neceſſity of haſtening that work, which they underſtood well enough by the Iriſh commiſſioners; who had been there, and had been ſent back with a million of promiſes, a coin that Court always abounded with, and made moſt of its payments in.

When the Queen, who was as zealous for the diſpatch as was poſſible, preſſed the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, ſhe received in words all the ſatisfaction imaginable, and aſſurance that all things ſhould be ſpeedily provided; and when the Marquis ſpoke firſt with the Cardinal upon the ſubject, he found him well diſpoſed; making ſuch ample promiſes for a very good ſum of money, and ſuch a proportion of arms and ammunition, as could be wiſhed. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his embarkation, that thoſe proviſions might be ſent thither to meet him; and that he ſhould be ready to tranſport himſelf within a very ſhort time; of which he gave notice to thoſe who expected him in Ireland, and prepared all his own accommodations accordingly. But he was very much diſappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not ſo confident of the recovery of the King's affairs as to diſoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: ſo that affair advanced very ſlowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly obſerved by me, crowded in all the particular paſſages and important tranſactions of two whole years into this book,

that I might not interrupt or diſcontinue the relation of the myſterious proceedings of the army, their great hypocriſy, and diſſimulation, practiſed towards the King and his party, and then their pulling off their maſk, and appearing in their natural dreſs of inhumanity and ſavageneſs, with the vile artifices of the Scottiſh commiſſioners to draw the King into their hands, and then their low and baſe compliance, and groſs folly, in delivering him up, and laſtly their abſurd and merchandly trafficking with him for the price of returning to their allegiance, when there was no other way of preſerving themſelves, and their nation from being deſtroyed, the many woful tragedies of the next year, which filled the world with amazement and horror, muſt be the ſubject of the diſcourſe in the next book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XI.

DEUT. xxix. 24.

Even all nations ſhall ſay, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? what meaneth the heat of this great anger?

LAM. ii. 7.

The Lord hath caſt off his altar; he hath abhorred his ſanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of his palaces; they have made a noiſe in the houſe of the Lord as in the day of a ſolemn feaſt.

IF a univerſal diſcontent and murmuring of the three nations, and almoſt as general a deteſtation both of Parliament and army, and a moſt paſſionate deſire that all their follies and madneſs might be forgotten in reſtoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in ſettling that bleſſed government they had deprived themſelves of, could have contributed to his Majeſty's recovery, never people were better diſpoſed to erect and repair again the building they had ſo maliciouſly thrown and

The temper of the nation at this time.

pulled down. In England there was a general diſcontent amongſt all ſorts of men; many officers and ſoldiers who had ſerved the Parliament from the beginning of the war, and given too great teſtimonies of their courage and fidelity to their party, and had been diſbanded upon the new model, looked upon the preſent army with hatred, as thoſe who reaped the harveſt and reward of their labours, and ſpake of them and againſt them in all places accordingly: the nobility and gentry who had advanced the credit and reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it againſt the King, found themſelves totally neglected, and the moſt inferior people preferred to all places of truſt and profit: the Preſbyterian miniſters talked very loud; their party appeared to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from Scotland, and the importunity and clamour from Ireland, for ſupplies of men and money againſt the Iriſh, who grew powerful, raiſed the courage of all diſcontented perſons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh againſt the army, and the officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach ſo concernedly, as that of "the "want of ſupplies to Ireland, and that, having ſo great an "army without an enemy, they would not ſpare any part "of it to preſerve that kingdom." This argument made a new warmth in the Houſe of Commons, they who had been ſilent, and given over inſiſting upon the inſolence and preſumption of the army, which had prevailed, and cruſhed them, took now new ſpirit, and preſſed the relief of Ireland with great earneſtneſs, and in order thereunto made great inquiſition into the expences of the money, and how ſuch vaſt ſums received had been diſburſed; which was a large field, and led them to many men's doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

The affairs of Ireland during the Lord Liſle's being there.

There was a deſign this way to get the Preſbyterians again

again into power, and that they might get the command of an army for the ſubduing the rebels in Ireland. Cromwell had, for the quieting the clamours from thence, got the Lord Liſle, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of Leiceſter, to be ſent under the title of Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom thither, with a commiſſion for a limited time. He had landed in Munſter, either out of the jealouſy they had of the Lord Inchiquin, or becauſe the beſt part of their army of Engliſh were under his command in that province. But that expedition gave the Engliſh no relief, nor weakened the power or ſtrength of the Iriſh, but rather increaſed their reputation by the faction and bitterneſs that was between the Lieutenant and the Preſident, who writ letters of complaint one againſt the other to the Parliament, where they had both their parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his commiſſion being expired, and the contrary party not ſuffering it to be renewed, the Lord Liſle returned again into England, leaving the Lord Inchiquin, whom he meant to have deſtroyed, in the entire poſſeſſion of the command, and in greater reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preſerved both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the arrival of the Marquis of Ormond, and every day informing the Parliament of the ill condition he was in, and preſſing for a ſupply of men and money, when he knew they would ſend neither.

Upon the return of the Lord Liſle the Preſbyterians renewed their deſign, and cauſed Sir William Waller to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of Ireland, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his ſervice) becauſe he could quickly draw together thoſe officers and ſoldiers which had ſerved under him, and were now diſbanded, and would willingly

Waller nominated General there, but oppoſed by Cromwell; who propoſed Lambert.

again engage under their old General. At the firſt, Cromwell did not oppoſe this motion, but conſented to it, being very willing to be rid both of Waller, and all the officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his friends, and watched an opportunity to be even with him. But when he ſaw Waller inſiſt upon great ſupplies to carry with him, as he had reaſon to do, and when he conſidered of what conſequence it might be to him and all his deſigns, if a well formed and diſciplined army ſhould be under the power of Waller, and ſuch officers, he changed his mind; and firſt ſet his inſtruments to croſs ſuch a ſupply of men and money, as he had propoſed; "the one, as more than "neceſſary for the ſervice; and the other, as more than "they could ſpare from their other occaſions:" and when this check was put to Waller's engagement, he cauſed Lambert to be propoſed for that expedition, a man who was then faſt to the ſame intereſt he embraced, and who had gotten a great name in the army. He formalized ſo long upon this, that Ireland remained ſtill unſupplied, and their affairs there ſeemed to be in a very ill condition.

The Scots made ſo much noiſe of their purpoſes, even before their commiſſioners left London, and gave ſuch conſtant advertiſements of the impatience of their countrymen to be in arms for the King, though they made no haſte in providing for ſuch an expedition, that both the Preſbyterians, who were their chief correſpondents, and the royal party, bethought themſelves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themſelves from their former guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his impriſonment, but be able to preſerve him in liberty from any Preſbyterian impoſitions, which they

ſtill

ſtill apprehended the Scots might endeavour to oppoſe, though they had no ſuſpicion of the engagement lately mentioned at the Iſle of Wight.

The Earl of Holland prepares to riſe with the Duke of Bucks and others.

The Earl of Holland, who had done twice very notoriouſly amiſs, and had been, ſince his return from Oxford, notably deſpiſed by all perſons of credit in the Parliament and the army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough engagement. He had much credit by deſcent and by alliance with the Preſbyterian party, and was privy to the undertakings of Scotland, and had conſtant intelligence of the advance that was made there. His brother, the Earl of Warwick, had undergone ſome mortification with the reſt, and had not that authority in the naval affairs as he had uſed to have, though he was the High Admiral of England by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary ſervices. He did not reſtrain or endeavour to ſuppreſs the Earl of Holland's diſcontents, but inflamed them, and promiſed to join with him, as many others of that gang of men did; reſolving that the Scots ſhould not do all that work, but that they would have a ſhare in the merit. The Duke of Buckingham, and his brother, the Lord Francis Villiers, were newly returned from travel, and though both very young, were ſtrong and active men, and being, in reſpect of their infancy, unengaged in the late war, and ſo unhurt by it, and coming now to the poſſeſſion of large eſtates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the firſt opportunity, they fell eaſily into the friendſhip of the Earl of Holland, and were ready to embark themſelves in his adventure. The Earl had made tender of his reſolutions to his old miſtreſs the Queen at Paris, who was always diſpoſed to truſt him, and the Lord Jermyn and he renewed their

former friendſhip, the warmth whereof had never been extinguiſhed.

So a commiſſion was ſent from the Prince to the Earl to be General of an army, that was to be raiſed for the redemption of the King from priſon, and to reſtore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of Peterborough, and John Mordaunt his brother, the family of the Earl of Northampton, and all the officers who had ſerved the King in the war, with which the city of London and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themſelves to the Earl of Holland, and received commiſſions from him for ſeveral commands.

This engagement was ſo well known, and ſo generally ſpoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durſt not take notice of it, or wiſhed well to it. And there is no queſtion, never undertaking of that nature was carried on with ſo little reſervation; there was ſcarce a county in England, in which there was not ſome aſſociation entered into to appear in arms for the King. They who had the principal command in Wales under the Parliament, ſent to Paris to declare, "that, "if they might have ſupply of arms and ammunition, "and a reaſonable ſum for the payment of their garri- "ſons, they would declare for the King, having the "chief places of thoſe parts in their cuſtody." The Lord Jermyn encouraged all thoſe overtures with moſt poſitive undertaking, that they ſhould be ſupplied with all they expected, within ſo many days after they ſhould declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his cuſtom, never thought of after; by which the ſervice miſcarried, and many gallant men were loſt.

Cromwell, to whom all theſe machinations were known, choſe rather to run the hazard of all that ſuch a

looſe

looſe combination could produce, than, by ſeizing upon perſons, to engage the Parliament in examinations, and in parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Preſbyterian party had ſo great an influence upon the General, that he declared to him, "he would not march againſt the Scots," whom he had a good mind to have viſited before their counſels and reſolutions were formed; and Cromwell had reaſon to believe, that Fairfax would be firm to the ſame mind, even after they ſhould have invaded the kingdom.

All things being in this forwardneſs in England, it is fit to enquire how the Scots complied with their obligations, and what expedition they uſed in raiſing their army. After the commiſſioners' return from London, upon the King's being made priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, it was long before the Marquis of Argyle could be prevailed with to conſent that a Parliament ſhould be called. He had made a faſt friendſhip with Cromwell and Vane; and knew that in this new ſtipulation with the King, the Hamiltonian faction was the great undertaker, and meant to have all the honour of whatſoever ſhould follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to Scotland lived at firſt very privately at his own houſe; ſeldom went abroad to any meeting; and to thoſe who came to him, and to whom that reſolution would be grateful, he uſed to ſpeak darkly, and as a man that thought more of revenge upon thoſe who had impriſoned him, than of aſſiſting the Crown to recover the authority it had loſt. Argyle, whoſe power was over that violent party of the Clergy which would not depart from the moſt rigid clauſe in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his government, diſcerned that he ſhould never be able to hinder the

The Scots' preparations for an expedition into England.

the calling of a Parliament, which the people generally called for, and that he ſhould ſooner obtain his end by puzzling their proceedings, and obſtructing their determinations, after they ſhould be aſſembled, than by obſtinately oppoſing their coming together. So ſummons were iſſued for the convention of a Parliament; and they who appeared moſt concerned for the King, and to ſet him at liberty from his impriſonment, (which was all they pretended), were the Earl of Lanrick, brother to Duke Hamilton, and then reſtored to his office of Secretary of Scotland, who had been impriſoned at Oxford, and made his eſcape from thence; and the Earl of Lautherdale, who had been with the forwardeſt from the beginning of the rebellion, when he was ſcarce of age, and proſecuted it to the end with moſt eminent fierceneſs and animoſity.

The characters of Lanrick and Lautherdale.

They were both men of great parts and induſtry, though they loved pleaſures too; both proud and ambitious; the former, much the civiller and better bred, of the better nature, and better judgment, and an openneſs and clearneſs more to be truſted and relied upon than moſt men of that party: the latter, inſolent, imperious, flattering, and diſſembling, fitter for intrigues and contrivances by the want of the ingenuity which the other had, and by the experience and practice he had in the committee of both kingdoms in their darkeſt deſigns. The former was a man of honour and courage; the latter had courage enough not to fail where it was abſolutely neceſſary, and no impediment of honour to reſtrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his paſſions.

Theſe two were the chief managers and contrivers to carry on this affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl of Lowden, had been a commiſſioner in England, and

and as privy to the treaty with the King, and had made as many profeſſions and proteſtations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was ſo obnoxious for his looſe and vicious life, which was notorious, that he durſt not provoke Argyle or the Clergy by diſſenting from them. They uſed all the intereſt and ſkill they had, to get ſuch elections in the boroughs of members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the people generally were exceedingly offended, and aſhamed of the infamous delivery up of the King to the Engliſh, to which they imputed all the danger that threatened them, and the reproach and infamy that lay upon their country; and ſo had great prejudice to all men who were thought to be the cauſe of it.

The Parliament met in Scotland; and their deliberations.

At the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the people againſt the army in England; which, they ſaid, "had forced the Parliament "there to break the treaty between the two kingdoms "in their ill uſage of the King, who was impriſoned by "the army, nor was it in the power of the Parliament "to ſet him at liberty: that they had now, upon the "matter, abſolutely depoſed him, by not ſuffering him "to perform the office of a King, nor permitting any of "his ſubjects to repair to him; in which the kingdom "of Scotland was concerned, in that being independent "upon England, and the Parliament of England, they "were by them deprived of their King, and could not "be admitted to ſpeak with him, nor his Majeſty to ſend "to them; which was ſuch a preſumption, and vio-"lation of the law of nations, and ſuch a perfidious "breach and contempt of the ſolemn League and Co-"venant, and of the treaty between the two kingdoms, "that they were bound by all the obligations human

"and

" and divine to be ſenſible of it, and to redeem their " King's liberty, and their own honour, with the hazard " of their lives and fortunes and all that was dear to " them: and therefore they deſired that they might " enter upon thoſe counſels, which might ſooneſt get an " army together, which ſhould no ſooner enter England, " but it would find a conjunction from that whole " kingdom, except only the army; and that it would " then quickly appear that the Parliaments of both " kingdoms deſired the ſame thing, and to live happily " under the government of the ſame King."

This diſcourſe, urged and ſeconded by many of the principal men, was entertained by the reſt with ſo general a reception, that Argyle found it would be to no purpoſe directly to contradict or oppoſe it. He ſaw the election of the knights and burgeſſes had ſucceeded according to the wiſhes of the other lords, and that they would concur with whatſoever was propoſed; and he found likewiſe that they had wrought upon the greateſt part of their Clergy; who believed all they ſaid to them. He did not therefore oppoſe any thing propoſed by them, but only deſired, " that they would very well " weigh the manner of their proceeding in an affair of " ſo great concernment, which was like to terminate in " a bloody war between the two kingdoms; which had " hitherto proceeded as brethren, and had both reaped " great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: " and he hoped there was no purpoſe to ſhake any of " thoſe foundations which had been laid in the years " by-gone, which ſupported that government, and " made that kingdom happy; which if diſſolved, all " the miſchief and tyranny they had formerly felt and " undergone, would break in upon them with a torrent " that ſhould deſtroy them." Every body declared,

" that

" that there was no purpoſe to ſwerve, in the leaſt de-
" gree, from what was eſtabliſhed for the government
" in either kingdom, by their ſolemn League and Co-
" venant, which they had in perfect veneration, and
" looked upon it as an obligation upon them to do all
" that had been propoſed;" upon which Argyle acquieſced as ſatisfied, not doubting but that, in the proſecution of their counſels, he ſhould find opportunity enough to obſtruct the quick progreſs, and to interrupt the concluſion, and execution.

Sir M. Langdale and Sir P. Muſgrave and others, treated with by the Scots, and invited into Scotland; whither they went.

The lords who had been in England, and frequented Hampton Court, whilſt the King was there, to make themſelves the more gracious, had treated all the King's party with all manner of careſſes, and more particularly had much applied themſelves to thoſe gentlemen of the North who had moſt eminently ſerved the King, and who had good fortunes there to ſupport their intereſt. Of this kind there were two very notable men, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Muſgrave; both men of large and plentiful eſtates, the one in Yorkſhire, the other in Cumberland and Weſtmoreland; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their country in the offices of juſtices of peace, and deputy lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the war, engaged themſelves in commands in the King's army with great reputation of ſtout, diligent, and active officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themſelves to make any compoſition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their ſwords in their hands. They were both looked upon by the Parliament, and the chief officers of the army, with great jealouſy, as men worthy to be feared, and who could never be induced to comply with them. The Scottiſh lords had not been ſcrupulous to let theſe two gentlemen know what they intended,

and

and " that they made no queſtion but they ſhould en-
" gage their whole kingdom and nation to enter into a
" preſent war with England on the King's behalf; and
" therefore deſired them, by the intereſt and influence
" they had upon the northern counties, to diſpoſe them
" to a conjunction with them." And becauſe they knew that they two were too notorious to ſtay with any ſecurity about London, much leſs in their own country, they invited them into Scotland, where they aſſured them, " they ſhould not only be ſafe, but very welcome;
" and ſhould be witneſſes of their proceedings, and have
" parts of their own to act in, as ſoon as the ſeaſon
" ſhould be ripe."

Theſe gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and, whilſt the army made thoſe profeſſions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief officers thereof, and had been quartered with them as friends, knew well, now the maſk was off, that if they did not immediately apply themſelves to make their compoſitions, they ſhould be apprehended, and impriſoned. And therefore, being perſuaded that the Scots would engage for the King, they accepted their invitation, and told them, " they ſhould quickly find them in Scot-
" land after their own return." Accordingly, after having ſecretly ſpent ſome time in their own countries, and directed their friends to be in a readineſs when they ſhould be called upon, and in the mean time ſettled a way how to correſpond together, they went into Scotland to thoſe who had invited them, and were received by them with civility enough. They owned ſuch a wariness, in reſpect of the jealouſies amongſt themſelves, and the ill arts of Argyle, that they deſired them " for ſome time to withdraw to ſome place," (which they recommended to them), " and there to re-
" main

" main in ſecret, and under feigned names, until the " calling of the Parliament; at which time they might " come to Edinburgh, and appear in their own likeneſs " with all freedom." So after having remained in that private manner, where they were well treated for ſome months, when the Parliament was aſſembled at Edinburgh, they returned thither; and were very well looked upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themſelves with the more freedom and confidence in their converſation, the forementioned lords telling them all they meant to do, and what arts they were to uſe till they could get their army up, towards which they believed they had maſtered the greateſt difficulties.

Though the Scottiſh commiſſioners had withdrawn from London, ſhortly after they had proteſted loudly againſt the proceedings of the Parliament, both in impriſoning the King, and in refuſing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the government of that kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own ſecurity by quitting their ſtation at London, where they received every day affronts, and their perſons were expoſed to contempt; yet there were no ſooner preparations towards a Parliament in Scotland, than commiſſioners were ſent from the Lords and Commons at Weſtminſter to reſide at Edinburgh, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a ſtrong or at leaſt an active party there. They were received with the ſame ſhew of reſpect, and the ſame care was taken for their accommodation, as had been when they firſt came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of Argyle, and his party, very diligently viſited them, and performed all offices

Commiſſioners ſent from the two Houſes into Scotland.

offices of reſpect towards them, but even the Hamiltonian faction, and they who were moſt ſolicitous to raiſe the war, attended them as officiouſly as others, and made the ſame profeſſions to preſerve the peace and amity between the two nations.

That rigid party of the Clergy which ſo adored the Covenant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the letter, that they did not deſire to have any more dependence upon the King, but in effect to lay him aſide, and to ſettle the government without him, as their brethren in England had reſolved to do, were never from them, and willingly received ſuch preſents and penſions from the Engliſh commiſſioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much money was given to make them faſt friends. By this means nothing was reſolved, or propoſed in the moſt ſecret councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themſelves as haughtily and imperiouſly, as if they had their army at hand to ſecond them. They took notice of the reſort of ſo many Engliſh to Edinburgh, and that there were many amongſt them who had been in arms againſt the Parliament, and demanded, "that they "might either be baniſhed that kingdom, or delivered "to them to be ſent to the Parliament."

They were ſo clamorous in this argument, and found ſo much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the Engliſh thither, had not the courage to own them; but adviſed them underhand, "to abſent "themſelves from the town, till that ſtorm ſhould be "over." And even Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Muſgrave, whom, over and above all the diſcourſes held with them at London, the Scottiſh lords had ſent to confer with as they paſſed through the northern parts homewards, and had then conferred with them

them, and desired them "to prepare all things with "their friends for the surprisal of Berwick and Carlisle, "when the season should be ripe, and that they would "hasten their journey into Scotland, that they might "be out of danger of imprisonment;" even these men were desired, "either to withdraw again from Edin-"burgh, or to keep their chambers there, and not to be "seen abroad, until their army should be raised, and "such a General made choice of as would take care of "their protection." And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that Duke Hamilton should be that General; who often conferred with them in private, and always assured them, "that what-"ever was, in that place and season, discoursed of the "Covenant, which was very necessary to bring their "designs to pass, he should be no sooner invested in the "command his friends designed for him, than he would "manifest his resolution to join with the King's party, "upon the true interest of the Crown, without which "he would hope for little success in England:" and he desired them, "though they saw little appearance yet of "raising an army, which would be as soon finished as "begun, by the method they were accustomed to use, "that they would write very earnestly to their friends in "England to begin, as soon as might be, to execute the "designs they had laid, in as many parts of the king-"dom as they could upon confidence that they should "receive relief before they could be oppressed." To the same purpose they writ to the Queen, and desired "that the Prince might be in a readiness to be with "them against the time their army should be ready to "march; which, they assured her, should be by the be-"ginning of May." All which several advertisements, being communicated in England, found a people too

ready to give credit to what was promiſed, and to begin the work ſooner than they ought to have done; and yet they were haſtened by ſuch accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even neceſſary.

The King, whilſt he was at Hampton Court, when he foreſaw that the army would not comply with him, as he once believed, and reſolved to get themſelves out of their hands, had, as is mentioned before, directed the Duke of York, who was of years to be truſted with the ſecret, "that, when a fit opportunity ſhould be offered, "he ſhould make his eſcape into the parts beyond the "ſeas, and follow the directions of his mother:" and about this time, when ſo much action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his Majeſty, in all places, found ſome way to advertiſe the Duke, "that it would be a very proper ſeaſon for him "to make his eſcape." The perſon who was entruſted to contrive it was Colonel Bamfield, a man of an active and inſinuating nature, and dexterous enough in bringing any thing to paſs that he had the managing of himſelf. He had now no relation to the King's ſervice; he had ſerved the King in the late war as a colonel of foot, and had not behaved himſelf ſo well in it, as to draw any ſuſpicion upon himſelf from the other party, and was in truth much more converſant with the Preſbyterian party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the Duke of York and the other children were, drew nothing of ſuſpicion upon him.

The eſcape of the Duke of York beyond ſea from St. James's.

The Duke and his brother and ſiſter were then kept at St. James's, where they had the liberty of the garden and park to walk and exerciſe themſelves in, and lords, and ladies, and other perſons of condition, were not reſtrained from reſorting thither to viſit them. In this manner Bamfield had been ſometimes there; and after he had

had informed the Duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be truſted between them, that he might not become ſuſpected by being obſerved to ſpeak too often with him, he provided a ſmall veſſel to be ready about the cuſtom houſe, and [illegible]ve its paſs for Holland, and then advertiſed the [illegible]e to be ready in the cloſe of an evening, when playing, as he uſed to do, with the other children, in a room from whence there was a pair of ſtairs to the garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the park; where Bamfield would meet him. And this was ſo well adjuſted, that the Duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him preſently where a coach was ready, and ſo carried him into a private houſe; where he only ſtayed whilſt he put on women's apparel, that was provided for him; and preſently, with Colonel Bamfield only, went into a pair of oars that was ready; ſo he paſſed the bridge, and went on board the veſſel that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoiſted ſail, and arrived ſafe in Holland, without any man of the ſhip having the leaſt imagination what freight they carried.

The Duke, as ſoon as he was on ſhore, and in a lodging, reſolving no longer to uſe his woman's habit, ſtayed there till he advertiſed his ſiſter, the Princeſs Royal of Orange, of his arrival; who quickly took care to provide all ſuch things as were neceſſary for his remove to the Hague; from whence the Queen was informed, and ſo knew as ſoon almoſt where he was, as ſhe did of his eſcape from London. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it reſolved which way he ſhould go; ſo that it was thought beſt that the Duke ſhould, for the preſent, ſtay at the Hague with his ſiſter, till farther reſolutions might be taken; and though

though the ſervice which Bamfield had performed, was very well eſteemed, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bedchamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was neceſſary to put a perſon of a better quality about his Highneſs, who might have a ſuperior command over the other ſervants; and becauſe the Lord Byron, who had been made Governor of the Duke of York by the King, was then in England, ſecretly attending the conjuncture to appear in arms in a quarter affigned to him, Sir John Berkley was ſent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governor in the abſence of the Lord Byron, which Bamfield looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the man he hated of all men living, to have the command over him.

Sir John Berkley made his Highneſs's Governor in the abſence of the Lord Byron.

The Lord Capel, who was in the moſt ſecret part of all theſe intrigues in England, being entirely truſted by thoſe who would not truſt any of the Preſbyterians, nor communicate their purpoſes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained ſtill in Jerſey, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own reſolution to embark himſelf in that attempt, as ſoon as it ſhould be ripe; and had ſignified the King's command to him, "that as ſoon as the Chancellor "ſhould be required to wait upon the Prince, he ſhould "without delay obey the ſummons:" and the King had likewiſe writ to the Queen very poſitively, "that "when it ſhould be neceſſary for the Prince to remove "out of France, the Chancellor ſhould have notice of "it, and be required to give his attendance upon the per-"ſon of his Royal Highneſs, in the condition he had "formerly done." About the beginning of May, in the year 1648, the Lord Capel, who had always correſponded with the Chancellor, and informed him of the ſtate of affairs, and all that concerned himſelf, writ

to

to him, " that all things were now ſo ripe, that he be-
" lieved the Prince would not find it fit to remain
" longer in France; and thereupon conjured him that
" he would be ready, if he ſhould be ſent for, as he
" was confident he would be, to attend upon his High-
" neſs;" which, he ſaid, all the King's friends expected he ſhould do; and which he was reſolved to do as ſoon as the Prince ſhould be out of France, though he ſhould receive no order or invitation ſo to do.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſent for to the Prince from Jerſey.

About the middle of May, the Queen, according to his Majeſty's command, ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Jerſey, commanding, " that he would
" wait upon the Prince in the Louvre at Paris," upon a day that was paſt before the letter came to his hands. But he no ſooner received the ſummons, than he betook himſelf to the journey, and to tranſport himſelf into Normandy; where, after he was landed, he made what haſte he could to Caen, ſuppoſing he ſhould there find Secretary Nicholas, who had given him notice, " that
" he had received the ſame command." When he came to Caen, he found the Secretary's lady there, but himſelf was gone to Rouen, to the Lord Cottington, and intended to ſtay there till the other ſhould arrive, and to conſult together there upon their farther journey. The old Earl of Briſtol, who had lived likewiſe at Caen, was gone with the Secretary to Rouen, having likewiſe received the ſame ſummons with the others to attend the Prince at the Louvre. The Chancellor haſtened to Rouen, where he found the Lord Cottington, who had ſtill the title and precedency of Lord High Treaſurer of England, the Earl of Briſtol, and Secretary Nicholas, who were all his very good friends, and very glad of his arrival. They had received advertiſement, the day before, " that
" the Prince, with all his ſmall train, was paſſed by to-

" wards Calais;" and direction was ſent, " that the " Chancellor, whom they ſuppoſed to be on the way, " and the reſt, ſhould ſtay at Rouen, till they ſhould " receive new orders from Calais, where his Royal " Highneſs would take new meaſures what he was to " do." So they ſtayed together at Rouen, where there were at the ſame time very many Engliſh of quality in their own condition, who were driven out of England, as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and had brought ſomewhat with them for their ſupport abroad, till they might, upon ſome good change return to their own country. In the mean time they lived very decently together in that city; where they were well eſteemed. The way between Rouen and Calais was ſo dangerous without a very ſtrong convoy, that no day paſſed without robberies and murders, ſo that they were glad of their order not to ſtir from thence, till they ſhould receive a very particular direction from the Prince; and within few days they received advice, " that " the Prince had, as ſoon as he came to Calais, put him- " ſelf on board a ſhip that he found there bound for " Holland, whence they were to hear from him, how " they ſhould diſpoſe of themſelves." Whereupon they all reſolved to remove from Rouen to Dieppe, from whence they might embark themſelves for Holland if they ſaw cauſe; the ways by land, in regard that both the French and the Spaniſh armies were in the field, being very dangerous.

The Prince went into Holland from Calais.

The Prince's remove from Paris on ſuch a ſudden, proceeded from an accident in England that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to cuſtom, a good fleet of ten or a dozen ſhips for the ſummer guard, and appointed Rainſborough to be Admiral

The revolt of part of the fleet to the King from Rainſborough.

miral thereof; who had been bred at ſea, and was the ſon of an eminent commander at ſea, lately dead; but he himſelf, from the time of the new model, had been an officer of foot in the army, and was a colonel of ſpecial note and account, and of Cromwell's chief confidents. This offended the Earl of Warwick much, and diſpoſed him to that inclination to concur with his brother lately mentioned. Captain Batten likewiſe was as much unſatisfied, who had acted a great part in the firſt alienating the fleet and the affections of the ſeamen from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the perſons upon whom they principally relied at ſea. Rainſborough, as long as he remained in the navy, had been under his command, and both the Earl and Batten well knew that this man was now made Admiral of this fleet, becauſe they, being Preſbyterians, ſhould have no credit or influence upon it; which made them ſolicitous enough that the ſeamen ſhould not be well pleaſed with the alteration; and they looked upon Rainſborough as a man that had forſaken them, and preferred the land before the ſea ſervice. The ſeamen are in a manner a nation by themſelves, a humorous, brave, and ſturdy people; fierce, and reſolute in whatſoever they are inclined to, ſomewhat unſteady and inconſtant in purſuing it, and jealous of thoſe to-morrow by whom they are governed to-day. Theſe men, obſerving the general diſcontent of the people, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the army, both army and Parliament were grown very odious to the nation, and hearing ſo much diſcourſe of an army from Scotland ready to enter into the kingdom, concluded that the King would be reſtored; and then remembering that the revolt of the fleet was the preamble to the loſs of his Majeſty's authority every where elſe, and a

great cauſe of all his misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majeſty's reſtoration by their declaring for him. This was an agitation among the common ſeamen, without communicating it to any officer of the quality of maſter of a ſhip. This inclination was much improved in them by a general diſpoſition in Kent to an inſurrection for the King, and by ſome gentlemen's coming on board the ſhips, according to the cuſtom of that country; who fomented the good diſpoſition in the ſeamen by all the ways they could.

Commotions in Kent for the King.

At this very time there appeared generally throughout Kent the ſame indigeſted affection to the King, and inclination to ſerve him, as was among the ſeamen, and was conducted with much leſs order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been deſigned by thoſe who took care of the King's affairs, and who deſigned thoſe inſurrections which happened in other parts of the kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good diſpoſition in the ſeamen, though they were not without ſome hope, that, upon all other revolutions, ſomewhat might likewiſe fall out at ſea to the advantage of the King's affairs. They had ſome expectation indeed from Kent, where they knew the people were generally well affected, and depended upon two or three gentlemen of that country, who had been officers in the King's army, and reſolved to bring in ſome troops of horſe, when occaſion ſhould be ripe; but it was reſolved and intended that the Scottiſh army ſhould be entered the kingdom, by which the Parliament army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near London; and then they believed that both country and city would riſe together. And ſo

thoſe

thoſe gentlemen of Kent, who were privy to any deſign, lay privately in London to avoid all cabals in their country; ſo that what now fell out there, was by mere chance and accident, that could never be foreſeen, or prevented.

There happened to be at ſome jovial meeting in Kent about that time, one Mr. L'Eſtrange, a younger brother of a good family in Norfolk, who had been always of the King's party, and for attempting ſomewhat in his own country for his Majeſty's ſervice, had been taken priſoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemned to die, but being kept in priſon till the end of the war, was then ſet at liberty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retained his old affections, and more remembered the cruel uſage he had received, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great friendſhip with a young gentleman, Mr. Hales, who lived in Kent, and was married to a lady of a noble birth and fortune, he being heir to one of the greateſt fortunes of that country, but was to expect the inheritance from the favour of an old ſevere grandfather, who for the preſent kept the young couple from running into any exceſs; the mother of the lady being of as ſour and ſtrict a nature as the grandfather, and both of them ſo much of the Parliament party, that they were not willing any part of their eſtates ſhould be hazarded for the King. At the houſe of this Mr. Hales, Mr. L'Eſtrange was, when, by the communication which that part of Kent always hath with the ſhips which lie in the Downs, the report firſt did ariſe that the fleet would preſently declare for the King, and thoſe ſeamen who came on ſhore talked as if the city of London would join with them. This drew many gentlemen of the country who wiſhed well, to viſit

viſit the ſhips, and they returned more confirmed of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowſhip was a vice ſpread every where, and this young great heir, who had been always bred among his neighbours, affected that which they were beſt pleaſed with, and ſo his houſe was a rendezvous for thoſe who delighted in that exerciſe, and who every day brought him the news of the good inclinations in the fleet for the King; and all men's mouths were full of the general hatred the whole kingdom had againſt the Parliament as well as the army. Mr. L'Eſtrange was a man of a good wit, and a fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterpriſing nature. He obſerved, by the good company that came to the houſe, that the affections of all that large and populous country were for the King. He begun to tell Mr. Hales, "that though his grandfather did in his heart "wiſh the King well, yet his carriage had been ſuch "in his conjunction with the Parliament, that he had "more need of the King's favour than of his grand-"father's to be heir to that great eſtate; and that cer-"tainly nothing could be more acceptable to his grandfa-"ther, or more glorious to him, than to be the inſtrument "of both;" and therefore adviſed him "to put himſelf "into the head of his own country, which would be "willing to be led by him; that when the Scots were "entered into the northern parts, and all the kingdom "ſhould be in arms, he might, with the body of his "countrymen, march towards London; which would "induce both the city and the Parliament to join with "him, whereby he ſhould have great ſhare in the ho-"nour of reſtoring the King."

The company that frequented the houſe thought the diſcourſe very reaſonable, and ſaw that the iſſue muſt be very honourable: the young lady of the houſe was full of

of zeal for the King, and was willing her huſband ſhould be the inſtrument of his delivery: the young gentleman himſelf had not been enough converſant in the affairs of the world to apprehend the danger or hazard of the attempt, and ſo referred himſelf and the whole buſineſs to be governed and conducted by Mr. L'Eſtrange, whom they all believed by his diſcourſe to be an able ſoldier. He writ ſome letters to particular gentlemen, who he was informed would receive them willingly, and ſigned warrants to the conſtables of hundreds with his own name, which had been never heard of in the country, requiring, "in his Majeſty's name, all perſons to appear, "at a time and place appointed, to adviſe together, and "to lay hold on ſuch opportunities, as ſhould be offered "for relieving the King and delivering him out of priſon." There was an incredible appearance of the country at the place appointed, where Mr. L'Eſtrange appeared with Mr. Hales, and thoſe perſons which had been uſed to their company. Mr. L'Eſtrange ſpoke to them in a ſtyle very much his own; and being not very clear to be underſtood, the more prevailed over them. He ſpake like a man in authority, inveighed againſt "the tyranny of the army, which had ſubdued "the Parliament, againſt their barbarous impriſonment "of the King, and againſt a conſpiracy they had to "murder him." He added, "that the affections of "that noble country were well known to his Majeſty, "and that he had therefore appointed the fleet that was "in the Downs to join with them; and that he doubted "not but they would together be too ſtrong for his "enemies, who were like to have enough to do to defend "themſelves in many other places; and that his Majeſty "was willing they ſhould have a gentleman of their own "country, well known to them, to be their General;" and named

named Mr. Hales; who was preſent. There was not one man who ſo much as aſked for any letter or commiſſion, or other authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimouſly, declared "they would be "ready to join, and march as their General Hales "ſhould direct;" and ſo another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and lifting and forming their regiments; and in the mean time Mr. L'Eſtrange ſet out ſuch declarations and engagements, as he thought moſt like to prevail with the people, and required, "that "they ſhould be read in all churches;" which was done accordingly. The next appearance was greater than the former; and with the ſame forwardneſs, many coming armed both horſe and foot, and ſhewing a marvellous alacrity to the engagement. Their General then gave out his commiſſions for ſeveral regiments, and a new day was appointed for their rendezvous, when all ſhould come armed, and keep together in a body, until it ſhould be fit to march to London.

It was known that the fleet was gone out of the Downs, but it was as well known that it had abſolutely renounced the ſervice of the Parliament, and rejected all their officers. It was eaſy to perſuade the people, that they were gone upon ſome important enterpriſe, and would ſpeedily return; and it was inſinuated, "that it "was gone to the Iſle of Wight to releaſe the King, "who would return with it into Kent;" which made them haſten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of Northumberland Admiral, he declared, and it was inſerted in his commiſſion, "that he ſhould enjoy that office dur-"ing the minority of the Duke of York;" and the Duke having made his eſcape at this time, when there was this commotion amongſt the ſeamen, it was no ſooner known

known that his Highneſs was in Holland, but the ſeamen talked aloud, "that they would go to their Admiral;" and the gentlemen of Kent ſtirring them up and inflaming them to that reſolution, and the ſeamen again preſſing the gentlemen to haſten their riſing in arms, that they might aſſiſt and ſecond each other, they both declared themſelves ſooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an enterpriſe of that importance.

The Parliament was well informed of the diſtemper amongſt the ſeamen, and had therefore forborne putting the half of the proviſions aboard the ſhips, which, for the greateſt part, lay ready in the Downs, wanting only half the victual they were to have for the ſummer ſervice. But thoſe officers which were on board, finding they had no authority, and that the ſeamen mocked and laughed at them, ſent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole fleet was in. Whereupon they ſent Rainſborough and ſome other officers thither; preſuming that the preſence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a man of a rough imperious nature, as ſoon as he came on board his ſhip, begun to make a ſtrict enquiry into the former diſorders and mutinous behaviour, upon which all the men of his ſhip retired into their old fortreſs of one and all, and preſently laid hold on him, and put him, and ſuch other officers of the ſhip as they liked not, into the boat, and ſent them on ſhore. Which was no ſooner known to the reſt of the ſhips, but they followed their example, and uſed their officers in the ſame manner. After they had for ſome days been feaſted and careſſed by the people of Kent, ſome of the gentlemen putting themſelves on board to join with them, and in order to aſſiſt them towards providing ſuch neceſſaries

Rainſborough and ſome other officers put on ſhore by the ſeamen.

ceſſaries as were wanting, they went out of the Downs, and ſtood for Holland, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their anchors before the Brill. What was done by the gentlemen of Kent on ſhore, and the ſucceſs thereof, will be related hereafter.

The revolted ſhips went over to Holland.

This ſo very ſeaſonable revolt of the fleet, in a conjuncture when ſo many advantages were expected, was looked upon as a ſure omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the ſhips were before Calais, as if they had expected ſomebody there, which was true, for ſome time, was the reaſon that it was thought fit that the Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being ſent for by the Scots, and how to find himſelf with them) ſhould make all poſſible haſte to Calais. This was the cauſe of that his ſudden motion, which was yet retarded for want of money, and all other things neceſſary for his journey. The Cardinal ſhewed no manner of favouring all theſe appearances of advantage to the King; he gave leſs countenance to Scotland, than he had ever done when it was in rebellion againſt the King; and, notwithſtanding all his promiſes with reference to Ireland, the Marquis of Ormond remained ſtill at Paris, without obtaining armsor money in any proportion, (both which had been promiſed ſo liberally), and was, after all importunities, compelled to tranſport himſelf into Ireland (where he was ſo importunately called for) without any manner of ſupplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was ſo behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refuſed to furniſh him with any money; all which diſcountenances were ſhortly after remembered to Cromwell, as high merit.

The Marquis of Ormond goes out of France into Ireland.

The Prince's remove was by every body thought ſo neceſſary, that the Lord Jermyn, as was pretended, found

found means to borrow ſo much money as was neceſſary for the journey; which the King paid long after with full intereſt. Dr. Goffe, a man well known in that time, as the chief agent and confident of my Lord Jermyn, was preſently ſent into Holland, to diſpoſe the ſeamen to be willing to receive the Lord Jermyn to command the fleet. So ſolicitous that nobleman was to be in the head of any action that was like to proſper, how unfit ſoever he was for it; having neither induſtry, nor knowledge of any thing of the ſea, and being leſs beloved by the ſeamen than any man that could be named. The Prince made what haſte he could to Calais, attended by Prince Rupert, the Lord Hopton, and the Lord Colepepper, and ſome other gentlemen, beſides his own domeſtics; and finding one of the Engliſh frigates before Calais, and underſtanding that the Duke of York was gone from the Hague to Helvoet-ſluys, and had put himſelf on board the fleet there, his Highneſs preſently embarked, and made the more haſte leſt his brother ſhould be in action before him, and was received at the fleet with all thoſe acclamations and noiſes of joy, which that people are accuſtomed to; they having expreſſed as much ſome days before, at the arrival of the Duke of York. The Prince is received at the fleet.

As ſoon as it was known in Holland that the Prince of Wales was arrived, the Prince of Orange, with his wife the Princeſs Royal, came preſently thither to entertain his Highneſs the beſt that place would permit, but eſpecially to rejoice together, having not ſeen each other from the time they were children. The Prince found the fleet in faction and diſorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sir John Berkley's coming to the Hague to aſſume the government of the Duke of York, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highneſs; Factions in the Prince's fleet.

Highneſs; who was perſuaded by Colonel Bamfield, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King to the Iſle of Wight. The Colonel himſelf was ſo incenſed with it, that he uſed all the ſkill and inſinuation he had, to leſſen his Highneſs's reverence to the Queen, and to diſpute her commands. Then taking the opportunity of the fleet's being come to Helvoetſluys, he went thither, and having, as is ſaid before, a wonderful addreſs to the diſpoſing men to mutiny, and to work upon common men, which the fleet conſiſted of, there being no officers, for the moſt part, above the quality of a boatſwain or maſter's mate, he perſuaded them "to declare for the "Duke of York, without any reſpect to the King or "Prince; and when his Highneſs ſhould be on board, "that they ſhould not meddle in the quarrel between "the King and the Parliament, but entirely join with "the Preſbyterian party, and the city of London; "which by this means would bring the Parliament to "reaſon:" and he prepared his friends the ſeamen when the Duke ſhould come to them, that they would except againſt Sir John Berkley, and cauſe him to be diſmiſſed; and then he believed he ſhould be able to govern both his Highneſs and the fleet.

At the ſame time Dr. Goffe, who was a dexterous man too, and could comply with all men in all the acts of good-fellowſhip, had gotten acquaintance with others of the ſeamen, and made them jealous of Bamfield's activity; and endeavoured to perſuade them, "that they ſhould "all petition the Prince," (who, he knew, would be ſhortly with them), "that the Lord Jermyn might be "made their Admiral; who would be able to ſupply "them with money, and whatſoever elſe they wanted: "that there was no hope of money but from France,

"and

" and that the Lord Jermyn had all the power and credit " there, and might have what money he desired;" and by these agitations, the infant loyalty of the seamen begun to be distracted.

At the same time the Lord Willoughby of Parham, who had always adhered to the Presbyterians, and was of great esteem amongst them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and secretly transported himself into Holland; and was arrived at Rotterdam, when Bamfield returned from the fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of York at the Hague. Bamfield delivered such a message from the fleet as he thought would hasten the Duke's journey thither; and told him, " the seamen made great en- " quiry after the Lord Willoughby, and much longed " to have him with them;" insinuating to the Duke, " that he had much contributed to that good disposition " in the seamen, and was privy to their revolt, and had " promised speedily to come to them, and that it " would be the most acceptable thing his Highness " could do to carry him with him to the fleet, and " make him his Vice-Admiral." The Duke made all imaginable haste to Helvoetsluys, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was received with the usual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord Willoughby his Vice-Admiral, and appointed some other officers in the several ships, and seemed very desirous to be out at sea. In the mean time Bamfield continued his activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raise his patron to the height he proposed, did all he could to hinder the operation of Bamfield, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertised of it, and thereupon hasten his own journey; which did likewise contribute

to the haſte his Highneſs made. He arrived at Helvoetſluys very ſeaſonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the ſeamen, upon his Highneſs's appearance, returned again into their old cheerful humour; which the Prince knew would be beſt preſerved by action; and therefore exceedingly deſired to be at ſea, where he was ſure he muſt be ſuperior to any force the Parliament could in a ſhort time put out. But the fleet already wanted many proviſions, of which beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the Prince of Orange, was in a ſhort time procured in a reaſonable proportion; and then the Prince ſet ſail firſt for Yarmouth Road, then for the Downs; having ſent his brother, the Duke of York, with all his family to the Hague, to remain there.

The Prince comes into the Downs with the fleet.

Though the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the fleet, which he had been perſuaded to look upon as his province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reaſon would not permit they ſhould both be ventured at one time on board the fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own perſon, he ſubmitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his ſiſter. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord Willoughby (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Preſbyterian party) from the charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the ſeamen. But Captain Batten coming at the ſame time when his Highneſs did to the fleet, and bringing the Conſtant Warwick, one of the beſt frigates the Parliament had built, with Jordan, and two or three ſeamen of good command, his Highneſs knighted him, and made him Rear-Admiral of the fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular

and

and acceptable thing to the ſeamen, than by putting the ſame man, who had commanded them ſo many years, over them again at this time; whoſe experience and government would ſupply the defects and want of ſkill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be adviſed by him. But the Prince ſhortly after found he was miſtaken in that expedient, and that the ſeamen (who deſired to ſerve the King upon the clear principles of obedience and loyalty) did not in any degree affect Batten, becauſe he had failed in both, and was now of a party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and diſpoſed from the Queen, to depend wholly upon the Preſbyterian party, which, beſides the power of the Scottiſh army, which was every day expected to invade England, was thought to be poſſeſſed of all the ſtrength of the city of London; and the Lord Colepepper, and Mr. Long, the Prince's Secretary, were truſted by the Queen to keep the Prince ſteady and faſt to that dependence; and his Highneſs was enjoined to be entirely adviſed by them; though all the other lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himſelf not inclined that way. Dr. Steward, the Dean of the King's chapel, whom his Majeſty had recommended to his ſon to inſtruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr. Earles, and the reſt of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent thoſe infuſions. But, by thoſe two, the benefit of this fleet was principally conſidered, as a happy means to put the Prince on ſhore, that he might be in the head of the Scottiſh army; and no doubt if that army had been then entered into England, as it was very ſhortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the fleet, "to have followed

"lowed all the advice which ſhould have been ſent "from the Scots."

In the mean time it was thought moſt counſellable, after the Prince had ſailed ſome days about the coaſt, that the kingdom might generally know that his Highneſs was there, that they ſhould all go into the river of Thames, and lie ſtill there; by which they expected two great advantages; firſt, that the city would be thereby engaged to declare itſelf, when they ſaw all their trade obſtructed; and that their ſhips homewards bound, of which, at that ſeaſon of the year, they expected many, muſt fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the preſence of the Prince in the river would hinder the Parliament from getting ſeamen; and from ſetting out that fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the command of the Earl of Warwick; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to employ; and who, by accepting the charge, thought he ſhould be in a better poſture to chooſe his party, in any other alteration that ſhould happen at land.

Thence into the river of Thames.

When the Parliament firſt heard of the commotion in Kent, and ſaw the warrants which were ſent out and ſigned by L'Eſtrange, whom nobody knew, (and the gentlemen of Kent who ſate in the Parliament, aſſured them, "that there was no ſuch gentleman in that "county;" and Sir Edward Hales, who likewiſe was preſent there, told them, "he was very confident that "his grandſon could not be embarked in ſuch an af-"fair"), they neglected it, and thought it a deſign to amuſe them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and ſaw the declarations which were publiſhed, and were well aſſured that young Hales appeared

peared with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their General, "to ſend two or three troops of horſe into Kent to "ſuppreſs that ſeditious inſurrection;" Sir Edward Hales now excuſing himſelf with revilings, threats, and deteſtation of his grandſon; who, he proteſted, ſhould never be his heir.

The Earl of Holland, who had a commiſſion to be General, and the reſt who were engaged, were not yet ready, the Scots being not yet entered; nor did they underſtand any thing of the buſineſs of Kent; however when they were aſſured that they were drawn into a body, and were ſo ſtrong that the officers who commanded the troops which had been ſent to ſuppreſs them, had ſent to the Parliament word, "that they "durſt not advance, for that the enemy was much "ſtronger than they, and increaſed daily; and that they "had ſent a letter to the city of London inviting them "to join with them;" the Earl of Holland I ſay, and the others with him, thought it fit to ſend them all the countenance and encouragement they could; and thereupon diſpatched thoſe officers who had been deſigned for the troops of that county, when the ſeaſon ſhould be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in London to avoid ſuſpicion. They were deſired to call their friends together, as ſoon as was poſſible, to join with their neighbours; and were told, "that they "ſhould very ſhortly receive a General from the King:" for they did not think Mr. Hales equal to the work, who found his power and credit to grow leſs, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to enquire for the King's commiſſion. The Earl of Holland had formed his party of many officers who had ſerved both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the city;

and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their northern friends, and therefore conſulting with the reſt, and finding the Earl of Norwich, who had been ſome months in England under a paſs from the Parliament, (upon pretence of making his compoſition, from which he had never been excluded), willing to engage himſelf in the conduct of thoſe in Kent, where he was well known and beloved, his affection and zeal for the King's ſervice being not to be doubted, they reſolved that he ſhould go thither; and there being many blank commiſſions ready to be diſpoſed as the ſervice ſhould require, they filled one with his name, by which the command of all Kent was committed to him, "with power to lead them any "whither as the good of the King's ſervice ſhould "make requiſite." And with this commiſſion he made haſte into Kent, and found at Maidſtone a better body of horſe and foot armed than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any army that was like to be brought againſt them. They all received him with wonderful acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr. Hales, upon the news of another General to be ſent thither, and upon the ſtorms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his grandfather, on the one ſide, and on his wife by her mother on the other ſide, and upon the conſcience that he was not equal to the charge, though his affection was not in the leaſt declined, found means to tranſport himſelf, and wife, together with his friend Mr. L'Eſtrange, who had loſt his credit with the people, into Holland; reſolving, as ſoon as he had put his wife out of the reach of her mother, to return himſelf, and to venture his perſon in the ſervice which he could not conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The

The importunities from Scotland with the Preſbyterians their correſpondents, the fame of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's being well received at Edinburgh, and that many Engliſh officers and ſoldiers daily flocked thither, but eſpecially the promiſes from Paris of ſupplies of arms, ammunition, and money, as ſoon as they could expect it, ſet all the other wheels going in England which had been preparing all the winter. There was in South Wales Colonel Laughorn, Colonel Powell, and Colonel Poyer, who commanded thoſe parts under the Parliament, which they had ſerved from the beginning: the firſt of them a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune in land in thoſe counties, who had been bred a page under the Earl of Eſſex, when he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependance upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was firſt engaged in the rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, without wiſhing ill to the King: the ſecond was a gentleman too, but a ſoldier of fortune: the third, had from a low trade raiſed himſelf in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and ſtout officer, and was at this time truſted by the Parliament with the government of the town and caſtle of Pembroke. Theſe three communicated their diſcontents to each other, and all thought themſelves ill requited by the Parliament for the ſervice they had done, and that other men, eſpecially Colonel Mitton, were preferred before them; and reſolved to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, to declare for the King upon the Preſbyterian account. But Laughorn, who was not infected with any of thoſe freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it ſhould be time, to ſober reſolutions, would not engage till he firſt ſent a confident to Paris to inform the Prince

of what he had determined, and of what their wants conſiſted, which if not relieved, they ſhould not be able to purſue their purpoſe, deſiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and aſſurance that they ſhould in time receive thoſe ſupplies they ſtood in need of. And the Lord Jermyn ſent him a promiſe under his hand, "that he ſhould not fail of receiving all the "things he had deſired, before he could be preſſed by "the enemy;" and therefore conjured him, and his friends, "forthwith to declare for the King; which he "aſſured them would be of ſingular benefit and ad-"vantage to his Majeſty's ſervice; ſince, upon the "firſt notice of their having declared, the Scottiſh army "would be ready to march into England." Hereupon they preſently declared, before they were provided to keep the field for want of ammunition and money, and when Pembroke was not ſupplied with proviſions for above two months; and were never thought of after.

The Lord Byron had been ſent from Paris, upon the importunities from Scotland, to get as many to declare in England in ſeveral places, as might diſtract the army, and keep it from an entire engagement againſt them; to diſpoſe his old friends about Cheſter and North Wales to appear as ſoon as might be: and he preſently, with the help of Colonel Robinſon, poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſland of Angleſey, and diſpoſed all North Wales to be ready to declare as ſoon as the Scots ſhould enter the kingdom. But that which was of moſt importance, and ſeemed already to have brought the war even into the heart of England, was that ſome gentlemen, who had formerly ſerved the King in the garriſon of Newark, and in the northern army, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, had (by a deſign conſulted with him before his going into Scotland, and upon orders received

ceived from him ſince, when he believed the Scots would be in a ſhort time ready to begin their march) ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Pontefract in Yorkſhire, (which had a garriſon in it for the Parliament), and grew preſently ſo numerous, by the reſort of officers and ſoldiers from the adjacent counties, that they grew formidable to all thoſe parts, and made the communication between London and York inſecure, except it was with ſtrong troops. Upon which argument of the ſurpriſe of Pontefract, we ſhall enlarge hereafter, before we ſpeak of the tragic concluſion of this enterpriſe. All affairs were in this motion in England, before there was any appearance of an army in Scotland, which they had promiſed ſhould be ready to march by the beginning of May.

Indeed as to the raiſing an army in Scotland, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who ſhould command, and be General of this army, was the matter upon which the ſucceſs of all they propoſed would depend; and if they could not procure Duke Hamilton to be made choice of for that ſervice, they would promiſe themſelves no good iſſue of the undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General Leſley, who had been hitherto in the head of their army in all their proſperous ſucceſſes; but he was in the confidence of Argyle, which was objection enough againſt him, if there were no other; and the man was grown old, and appeared, in the actions of the laſt expedition into England, very unequal to the command. And therefore ſome expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the command, upon pretence of his age and infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his

his honour againſt the Engliſh, except aſſiſted by Engliſh, which had been his good fortune in all the actions of moment he had performed in this war; and when he had been deſtitute of that help, he had always received ſome affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke Hamilton was propoſed, as a fit man to be employed to redeem the honour of the nation. He had formerly diſcharged the office of General under the King of Sweden, where Leſley, that had now declined the employment, was Major General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of war.

Whilſt this was depending, Argyle took notice of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Sir Philip Muſgrave's being in the town, and of ſome diſcourſes which they had uſed, or ſome other Engliſh officers in their company, and deſired, "that, if they were to have any command "in the army, they might preſently take the Covenant; "and that there might be a general declaration, that "there ſhould be neither officer nor ſoldier received "into their army, before he had firſt taken the Cove-"nant: and that, after they were entered into the king-"dom of England, they ſhould make no conjunction "with any forces, or perſons, who had not done, or "ſhould refuſe to do the ſame." This propoſal found no oppoſition; they who were moſt forward to raiſe the army for the delivery of the King, being as violent as any to advance that declaration. And though Duke Hamilton and his brother of Lanrick did as well diſapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foreſee, out of the long experience they had of England, what prejudice it would [illegible] upon them there, yet they had not the courage in any degree to ſpeak againſt it; and the Chancellor of Scotland and the Earl of Lautherdale were

were as paſſionate for the advancement of it, as Argyle himſelf; and ſeemed to think that thoſe two gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

It can hardly be believed, that, after ſo long knowledge of England, and their obſervation of whom the King's party did conſiſt, after their ſo often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to preſerve himſelf in Newcaſtle from being delivered up to the Parliament, or in their laſt agitation with him, when he yielded to ſo many unreaſonable particulars to gratify them, to conſent to or promiſe, "that any man ſhould be compelled to take the Co-"venant;" that they ſhould ſtill adhere to that fatal combination againſt the Church, which they could never hope to bring to paſs, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as ſtrict a reſtraint, when they ſhould get him into their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and army: yet they were ſo infatuated with this reſolution, that they diſcovered their apprehenſion of the King's party, and deſigned no leſs to oppreſs them than the Independents and Anabaptiſts; and upon the news of the revolt of the fleet from the Parliament to the King, the inſurrection in Kent, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the kingdom for the King, they ſlackened their preparations, that they might defer their march, to the end that all that ſtrength might be oppreſſed and reduced, that ſo they might be abſolute maſters after they had prevailed over the army. And at laſt, when they could defer their march no longer, upon the importunate preſſure of their friends in London, they ſent the Earl of Lautherdale with thoſe inſolent inſtructions, which will be mentioned anon, and poſitively required the Prince immediately

to

to repair to them; declaring, "that if his perſon ſhould "not be forthwith in their army, they would return "again into Scotland without making any attempt;" and the knowing this reſolution, was the reaſon that the Queen was ſo poſitive in her inſtructions, notwithſtanding the appearance of any other advantage to the King in England.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Muſgrave no ſooner heard of this declaration, than they went to thoſe lords, and expoſtulated very ſharply with them, for "having broken their faiths, and betrayed them "into their country; where they were looked upon as "enemies." They were anſwered, "that they muſt "give over their deſign to redeem the King, or yield to "this determination, which their Parliament was ſo "firm and united in; and would never depart from." And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; ſome of them deſiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to ſatisfy them, that the Covenant did not include thoſe things in it, which they thought it did. But when they ſaw thoſe gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they reſolved preſently to leave the country; and told them, "they "would undeceive thoſe honeſt people in England, "who were too much inclined to truſt them; and that "they ſhould find that they had a harder work in hand "than they imagined;" the Scottiſh lords knew well enough of what importance their preſence was to be to them, for their very entrance into England; and thereupon deſired them, "that they would have a little "patience, and again abſent themſelves from Edin-"burgh, till the heat of this diſpute was over, and till "the army ſhould be ready to march;" and Duke Hamilton,

milton; who had a marvellous inſinuation to get himſelf believed, aſſured them in confidence, "that as ſoon as "he ſhould find himſelf in the head of his army, and "upon their march, there ſhould be no more talk of "covenants, but that all the King's friends ſhould be "welcome, and without diſtinction." So they left Edinburgh again, and went to their old quarters; where they had not ſtayed long, before the Duke ſent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very cheerful reception, he told them, "he was now ready; "and that their friends in England called ſo importu- "nately for them, that he was reſolved to march in very "few days; which he thought neceſſary to communi- "cate to them, not only for the friendſhip he had for "them; which would always keep him without reſerve "towards them; but becauſe he muſt depend upon "them two to ſurpriſe the towns of Berwick and "Carliſle, againſt the time he ſhould be able to march "thither; for he intended to march between thoſe two "places."

The work was not hard to be performed by them, they having, from their firſt entrance into Scotland, adjuſted with their friends who inhabited near thoſe places, to be ready for that enterpriſe when they ſhould be called upon; which they then believed would have been much ſooner; ſo that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded commiſſions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excuſed himſelf for not giving, under pretence of "the ſecrecy that was neceſ- "ſary; in reſpect whereof he would not truſt his own "Secretary; and likewiſe, as a thing unneceſſary for "the work; ſince it was their own reputation and in- "tereſt, and their being known to have been always "truſted by the King, by which they could bring it to "paſs,

" paſs, and not his commiſſion; for which thoſe towns " would have no reverence." Beſides, he told them, " that the Marquis of Argyle had ſtill proteſted againſt " their beginning the war by any act of hoſtility againſt " the Engliſh, in forcing any of the towns; which was " not neceſſary in order to the King's deliverance; but " that an army might march to the place where the " King was, to the end that thoſe meſſengers who were " ſent by the State to ſpeak with the King, might have " liberty to ſpeak with his Majeſty; which was a right " of the kingdom, and the demanding it could be " no breach of the pacification between the two king- " doms."

This argument, they knew, was not reaſonable enough to ſway the Duke. But they foreſaw two other reaſons, which did prevail with him not to give thoſe commiſſions they deſired, which otherwiſe might have been given with the ſame ſecrecy that the buſineſs was to be acted with; the one, the order againſt giving any commiſſion to any man before he had taken the Covenant: and how much authority ſoever the Duke might take upon him to diſpenſe with that order after he ſhould be in England, it might not be convenient that he ſhould aſſume it whilſt he remained yet at Edinburgh: the other was, that, when they had done it without his commiſſion, he might, upon his march, or as ſoon as he came thither, diſpoſſeſs them of the government, and put Scotchmen into their places; the laſt of which he did not diſſemble to them; but confeſſed, " that, " though the Council of Scotland would not attempt " the taking of thoſe towns, yet when they ſhould be " taken, they would expect the government thereof " ſhould be in their hands, and depend upon them, " without which they ſhould not be able to ſend him

" thoſe

"thoſe continual ſupplies which he expected from "them." And there being then a recruit of five or ſix thouſand, which Sir George Monroe had near raiſed in the North, and from Ireland, who were to begin their march after him, as ſoon as he ſhould be out of Scotland, the two gentlemen had no purpoſe of remaining in thoſe governments, well knowing that their preſence would be of importance to the army, at leaſt whilſt they ſtayed in the northern counties; yet they knew well, it was for the ſervice that thoſe towns ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh, without which few of the gentlemen of thoſe parts would declare themſelves, how well affected ſoever they were; which when they had offered to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the employment he preſſed them to undertake, and parted to put the ſame in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpoſe.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale had ſeveral officers, and ſoldiers, laid privately on the Scottiſh ſide to wait his commands, and more on the Engliſh; there being two or three good families within two or three miles of Berwick, who were well affected and ready to appear when they ſhould be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many men. Some of them Sir Marmaduke appointed to meet him, on the Scottiſh ſide, at a place about a mile diſtant from Berwick, the night before he intended the ſurpriſe, and the reſt to be in the town by the riſing of the ſun; ſome about the market place, and ſome upon the bridge, by which he muſt enter. The next morning, being market day, when great droves of little horſes, laden with ſacks of corn, always reſorted to the town, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about a hundred horſe, and ſome few foot, which walked with the market people, preſently after ſun riſing, was upon the bridge, before there was any apprehenſion;

henſion; and finding his friends there whom he expected, he cauſed the bridge preſently to be drawn up, and guarded by his foot, and ſent others to the other parts. Himſelf with moſt of his troops went into the market place, where he found his country friends ready to do all he would command. There was ſo general a conſternation ſeized upon the whole town, there being no other garriſon but town's-men, that after they had ſeized upon the Mayor, who was the Governor, all things were in a ſhort time ſo quiet, that they opened their ports again, that the market might not be interrupted. Sir Philip Muſgrave, with as little oppoſition, poſſeſſed himſelf of Carliſle; where he had a greater intereſt; and the people were generally better affected to the King, and more diſinclined to the Scots than thoſe of Berwick uſed to be; and they both haſtened advertiſement to the Duke of what they had done.

Sir M. Langdale ſurpriſes Berwick, and Sir P. Muſgrave Carliſle ſoon after.

It will be much wondered at, that after Cromwell plainly foreſaw they ſhould have a war with Scotland, and had conſtant intelligence from thence of the advances they made, he did not take care to put garriſons into thoſe two important places, the very ſtrength of which could for ſome time have withſtood all the power which Scotland could have brought againſt them. But the ſame reaſon which had been current at Edinburgh to this very time, had prevailed at Weſtminſter. It was ſpecially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both kingdoms combined againſt the King, "that there "ſhould be no more garriſons kept on either ſide in "Berwick or Carliſle;" where they were then diſbanded, and ſome of their fortifications ſlighted; which could eaſily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an enemy for ſome time. And the Parliament would not now permit any men to be ſent thither,

ther, that the Scots might not pretend that the war was begun by them; but left Berwick to the government of the mayor and the citizens; who could have defended themſelves againſt the Scots if they had expected them. But the truth is, Cromwell had ſo perfect a contempt of the whole ſtrength of that nation, that he never cared what advantage ground they had upon any field, or what place they ever poſſeſſed.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Muſgrave were no ſooner poſſeſſed of Berwick and Carliſle, than all the gentlemen, officers, and ſoldiers thereabouts, who had formerly ſerved the King, reſorted and flocked to them well armed, appointed, and provided for the war; ſo that they had not only very ſufficient garriſons to keep thoſe places, but troops enough of horſe to free the adjacent counties from thoſe forces, and committees, and other perſons, who were either publickly engaged in, or well known privately to wiſh well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of April that Sir Marmaduke Langdale poſſeſſed himſelf of Berwick; and ſoon after Sir Philip Muſgrave ſurpriſed Carliſle, about eight of the clock at night, many gentlemen of the neighbours being in and about the town, expecting his arrival; ſo that the citizens were in confuſion, and made little reſiſtance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke Hamilton, that they would deliver up the towns to him when he ſhould require them; he having aſſured them, "that the King had promiſed, under his hand, "that thoſe two towns ſhould be delivered into the poſ-"ſeſſion of the Scots;" which it muſt needs be ſuppoſed that they ſhould firſt take from the Parliament, in whoſe poſſeſſion they were both when the King ſigned the engagement at Cariſbrook caſtle. And the Duke had not only refuſed to give them any men, or other

aſſiſtance towards the taking them, but, as hath been ſaid, would not grant them his commiſſion to perform it; pretending, "that he durſt not do it, becauſe they "were bound not to begin the war:" only he, and the other lords of his fraternity, promiſed "to ſend five "hundred muſkets, and ten barrels of powder to each "garriſon; and that their whole army ſhould march into "England within twenty days; and that, if they were "ſooner in diſtreſs, they ſhould be ſure to be relieved."

But after he heard that both places were poſſeſſed by them, he deferred not to ſend a governor and garriſon to receive Berwick; to whom Sir Marmaduke Langdale delivered it according to his promiſe; and was required "to march with all the Engliſh to the parts adjacent to "Carliſle, and there to increaſe his troops to what num-"ber he could, with what expedition was poſſible;" which he performed ſo effectually, that, in very few days, he had a rendezvous upon a heath within five miles of Carliſle, where he muſtered above three thouſand foot well armed, and ſeven hundred horſe not ſo well armed; all which were raiſed in Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, over and above the garriſon of Carliſle; which yet remained under Sir Philip Muſgrave; and, within two days, five hundred horſe, very well appointed, came out of Yorkſhire, the biſhopric of Durham, and the neighbour parts; ſo that Sir Marmaduke Langdale reſolved preſently to march into Lancaſhire, to reduce thoſe who were for the Parliament there; which he could eaſily have done, the Lord Byron being ready upon the borders of Cheſhire to have joined with him. But this quick advance and progreſs towards an army, was not well looked upon at Edinburgh; and an expreſs was diſpatched with poſitive orders to Sir Marmaduke Langdale "not to engage or fight with the "enemy,

"enemy, upon what advantage ſoever, until the Scot-
"tiſh army ſhould come up." And wherever that expreſs ſhould overtake Sir Marmaduke, he was immediately to retire with his forces near Carliſle; which he obeyed as ſoon as he received the order, and when he might have marched againſt Lambert; who was ſent before with a leſs ſtrength than Sir Marmaduke commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated.

But, as if this had not been diſcouragement enough, within one or two days after that expreſs, letters were ſent from the Council in Scotland, by which Sir Marmaduke Langdale was very ſeverely reprehended, "for
"receiving Papiſts into his army, and not owning the
"Covenant in the declarations which he had publiſhed;" and told, "that he ſhould receive no aſſiſtance from
"them, except the Covenant was embraced by all his
"army." This ſtruck at the root of all their hopes; and was ſo contrary to all the engagements they had received from the Scottiſh lords, both by words and letters, "that they ſhould never be troubled with any
"ſuch motions, after they were once upon Engliſh
"ground; and that then they ſhould proceed upon thoſe
"grounds as were like to bring in moſt men to their aſ-
"ſiſtance;" that Sir Marmaduke prevailed with Sir Philip Muſgrave to make a journey forthwith to Edinburgh, to expoſtulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm reſolution to the lords there.

Sir Philip Muſgrave, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to join with them, carried a liſt with him of the names of many officers in their troops who had been compelled to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to compoſition, or procure the ſequeſtra-

tions to be taken from their eſtates, and of ſome others who had taken it for quietneſs ſake in the places where they lived; with which the Scots were in ſome degree mitigated, but ſeemed to retain ſtill their rigour, that it ſhould be ſubmitted to by the whole army.

Lambert marches againſt them.

In the mean time Lambert, having gotten a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, advanced upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale; who, being enjoined not to fight, was forced to retire to Carliſle, and ſuffer himſelf to be, upon the matter, blocked up on one ſide, whilſt he ſent letter upon letter to the Duke "to haſten his march, or to "ſend ſome troops to his aſſiſtance, and liberty to fight "the enemy."

The Earl of Norwich at Maidſtone with the Kentiſh forces.

The Earl of Norwich had found the aſſembly at Maidſtone very numerous, but likewiſe very diſorderly, and without government, nor eaſy to be reduced under any command. They had been long enough together to enter into jealouſies of one another, and from thence into factions, and were of ſeveral opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire ſubmiſſion and obedience to the Earl of Norwich as their General, yet no man forbore to deliver his opinion of things and perſons, nor to enquire by what means they had firſt been drawn together; which implied that many men wiſhed they had been to begin again. The Earl was a man fitter to have drawn ſuch a body together by his frolic and pleaſant humour, which reconciled people of all conſtitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any enterpriſe. He had always lived in the Court in ſuch a ſtation of buſineſs as raiſed him very few enemies; and his pleaſant and jovial nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many friends, at leaſt made many delight in his company. So that by the great favour he had with the

the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he ſtood in with any body elſe, he was very like, if the fatal diſorder of the time had not blaſted his hopes, to have grown maſter of a very fair fortune; which was all that he propoſed to himſelf. But he had no experience or knowledge of the war, nor knew how to exerciſe the office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to pleaſe every man, and comply with every body's humour; which was quickly diſcovered; and ſo men withdrew the reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obſtinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indiſpoſition increaſed, when they heard that Fairfax himſelf was appointed to march towards them. They who beſt underſtood the affair, and how to apply the ſtrength they had to the beſt advantage, adviſed, "that they might "retire beyond Rocheſter, and by breaking down the "bridge there, and fortifying another paſs or two, "which was eaſy to be done, they might keep the "enemy from entering into the eaſt of Kent" (which was the largeſt and beſt part of that rich and populous county) "longer than they would be able to continue "the attempt, for fear of being incloſed by an "enemy at their back, if the city of London, or thoſe "of Eſſex, who were moſt ſpoken of, had a mind to "declare for the King; and by this means they might "be ſure of a correſpondence with the fleet;" of the return whereof in a ſhort time they were moſt confident; and the more, becauſe ſome gentlemen of their own body were on board the fleet in ſome authority, who, they knew, would haſten their return all they could.

Many were the more perſuaded that the fleet was gone to the Iſle of Wight for the reſcue of the King, becauſe thoſe gentlemen were gone in it. And without

doubt that advice was the moſt reaſonable, and if it had been purſued might have kept the enemy at a bay for ſome time. But other men leſs reaſonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that Fairfax "could have leiſure to look after them; they were con- "fident that the Parliament had ſo many enemies to look "after, thoſe in Wales growing ſtrong, and having "beaten the party that had been ſent againſt them; and "the officers in the North, who had ſeized upon Ponte- "fract caſtle in Yorkſhire, and had drawn in a ſtrong "garriſon from the parts adjacent, had a body of horſe, "that infeſted all thoſe parts; and the Scots were upon "their march for England; and therefore they con- "cluded that Fairfax could not be at leiſure to viſit "them: the retiring would be an argument of fear, "which would diſhearten their friends at London, and "all thoſe of that part of Kent, which muſt be deſerted "upon their retreat, would deſert them, as ſoon as that "reſolution ſhould be known;" and therefore they de- ſired, "that they might all march towards Blackheath; "which would raiſe the ſpirits of their friends, and "many would reſort every day to them out of London "and the parts adjacent; all which were eminently well "affected."

The Kentiſh army marches towards Blackheath.

The noiſe for this was the greater, and the Earl of Norwich himſelf was thereby ſwayed to be of that opi- nion; and ſo they reſolved to advance, and a ſhort day was appointed for a general rendezvous upon Black- heath; and orders were ſent out accordingly.

The diſturbance in ſo many places made the reſolu- tion of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "that Fairfax himſelf was "not willing to march againſt the Scots;" which was not now counſellable for him to do. Cromwell was very willing

willing to take that province to himſelf, and had always ſo great a contempt of the Scots, that he was willing to march with a much leſſer number than he well knew the Scottiſh army to conſiſt of; and being informed which way the Scots reſolved to enter the kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, as ſoon as they ſhould be entered, with thoſe troops which he had made choice of, having firſt ſuppreſſed the riſings in South Wales by taking of Pembroke caſtle, and making priſoners therein Laughorn, Powel, and Poyer, the heads of that inſurrection, and not troubling himſelf with Pontefract caſtle, which he thought would not be of great conſequence, if the Scots were ſubdued. Cromwell advances againſt the Scots:

Fairfax, with a numerous part of the army, remained in and about London to ſuppreſs the inſurrection in Kent, and watch any other which ſhould fall out in the city or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehenſion than of all the power of Scotland. And ſo when the Parliament was advertiſed by their troops which were firſt ſent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of Norwich was declared General of the Kentiſh troops, and was marching in the head of them towards Blackheath, Fairfax drew all his army together, and his cannon, and marched over London-bridge to meet the men of Kent at Blackheath, and to ſtop their march to London. The Earl was now advanced ſo far, and Fairfax advanced too faſt to put the former counſel in practice, of breaking down the bridges, and keeping the paſſes; and they who had oppoſed that counſel, and were ſo forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The countrymen were weary of being all night in the field, though it was the warmeſt ſeaſon of the year, and many withdrew Fairfax againſt the Kentiſh men.

themſelves every day; ſo that they who remained had no reaſon to believe themſelves equal to the power that marched towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preſerve themſelves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as Fairfax advanced, the Kentiſh forces drew back; made ſeveral ſtands; but, being hard preſſed, they divided, ſome retiring to Rocheſter, others to Maidſtone. Thoſe at Maidſtone had a ſharp encounter with the General's whole ſtrength, and fought very bravely, but were at laſt defeated. In the mean time the Earl of Norwich, and divers other officers who were with the party at Rocheſter, quitting that place, marched back towards London, in hope ſtill of the city's joining with them. But that failing, and apprehending Fairfax would be ſoon in their rear, the Earl and thoſe who remained, and deſigned to run the utmoſt hazard, reſolved to paſs themſelves and their horſes by ſuch boats as they had ready about Greenwich, and down the river, over into Eſſex, where they knew they had many friends, and where Fairfax and his army could not viſit them in ſome days. So they made a ſhift to tranſport themſelves to the number of near a thouſand men, horſe and foot; whereof many were officers and ſoldiers who had ſerved the King, and young gentlemen grown up in loyal families, who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of Norwich, and ſome forces, tranſport themſelves into Eſſex; and fix in Colcheſter.

They found many perſons in Eſſex ready to join with them, who came ſooner together than they intended, upon the alarm of Kent; and who had purpoſed to have paſſed over into Kent to have joined with and aſſiſted thoſe who had ſo frankly appeared for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave Lord Capel,

Capel, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, all excellent officers. There was Sir Bernard Gaſcoign, and many other gentlemen, and officers of name, who had drawn together many ſoldiers. To theſe joined Colonel Farr; who had ſerved the Parliament, and was a known creature and confident of the Earl of Warwick's, and had at that time the command of Languard Point, a fort of importance upon the ſea; ſo that when they were all come together, with thoſe who came from Kent, they made a body of above three thouſand horſe and foot, with officers enough to have formed and commanded a very good army.

They well knew Fairfax would quickly viſit them, and therefore they choſe to poſt themſelves in Colcheſter, a great and populous town, which though unfortified, they caſt up ſuch works before the avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by an aſſault; and reſolved to expect a conjunction with other of their friends; and were in great hopes that the Scottiſh army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be diſtreſſed.

They had ſcarce put themſelves and the town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before Fairfax came upon them; who made no ſtay in Kent, after he heard what was become of the Earl of Norwich and his friends; but left two or three troops of horſe to ſettle that county, with the aſſiſtance of their committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now victorious, knew well enough how to deal with thoſe who had revolted from them. When he came firſt before Colcheſter, and ſaw it without any fortifications, he thought preſently to have entered the town with his army; but he found ſo rude reſiſtance, that

Fairfax beſieges them.

that by the advice of Ireton, who was left by Cromwell to watch the General as well as the army, he reſolved to encompaſs it with his troops, and without hazarding the loſs of men to block them up, till famine ſhould reduce them; and diſpoſed his army accordingly; which quickly ſtopped up all paſſages by which either men or proviſions ſhould get into the town; though by many brave ſallies from within, their quarters were often beaten up, and many valiant men were loſt on both ſides.

The fleet, after it had, with all imaginable cheerfulneſs, ſubmitted to the command of the Prince, was not ſo active as it was expected it ſhould be; and was very much the worſe for the factions and diviſions which were amongſt thoſe who attended upon the Prince; who, according to their ſeveral humours, endeavoured to work upon the ſeamen; a people capable of any impreſſion, but not very retentive of it. Prince Rupert, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old conteſts in the late war, love the Lord Colepepper, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greateſt influence on Prince Rupert, Herbert the Attorney General, that of all men living was moſt diſpoſed to make diſcord and diſagreement between men; all his faculties being reſolved into a ſpirit of contradicting, diſputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was propoſed. He having no title or pretence to interpoſe in councils, and yet there being no ſecret in the debates there, found it eaſy to infuſe into Prince Rupert, who totally reſigned himſelf to his advice, ſuch arguments as might diſturb any reſolution: and there were ſo many who were angry that they were not admitted into the Council, as the Lords Piercy, Wilmot, and Wentworth, that it was no hard matter to get any thing

Factions in the Prince's fleet.

thing diſliked that was reſolved there. They had all that admiſſion and countenance from the Prince, that they had as much confidence to ſpeak to and before him, as any where elſe. Prince Rupert had a great mind that ſomewhat ſhould be attempted upon the coaſt, which might have cauſed ſome ſea-towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the King; which ſeemed not a deſign that would bear a reaſonable diſcourſe. But action was a very grateful word to the ſeamen, and they who oppoſed any thing that tended toward it, were looked upon with great jealouſy and prejudice. But the Prince was obliged, as hath been ſaid, by his inſtructions at Paris, not to engage himſelf in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the Scots ſhould call for his preſence; and they expected the firſt intimation of that from London; from whence they had the aſſurance already, that Duke Hamilton was entered into the kingdom with an army of above thirty thouſand men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far ſhort of the number.

When the Prince came with the fleet into the ſea from Helvoetſluys, he met a ſhip of London bound for Rotterdam, and laden with cloth by the company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the fleet could have been ſo ſoon ready for ſea. This ſhip was taken, and, the decks being ſealed up, was kept under guard with the fleet; which, at their entrance into the river of Thames, took many other ſhips of great value outward bound, and intercepted all veſſels homeward bound, and amongſt thoſe an Eaſt India ſhip richly laden, and the more welcome becauſe the ſhip itſelf was a very ſtrong ſhip, and would make an excellent man of war, and the captain thereof was a

It enters the river of Thames; takes ſeveral ſhips.

ſeaman

ſeaman of courage and experience, and was very well inclined to ſerve the King: and, without doubt, if all the ſhips which were then taken, had been ſent into ſome ſecure ports, the value of the goods would have mounted to ſo great a ſum, as might have countervailed a very great expence at ſea and land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found ſuch a ſecure port, where that treaſure might have been depoſited, ſo it was not ſuitable to thoſe meaſures which had been taken, and were ſtill purſued, for his Royal Highneſs's proceedings. The city of London was to be courted by all the artifices imaginable, and that was ſo alarmed by the fleet's being in the river, and by the ſeizure of ſo many of their ſhips, eſpecially the cloth ſhip, that there was a general conſternation amongſt the people: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themſelves to the Parliament, for leave to ſend down ſome agents to the fleet to procure a releaſe of that ſhip; and if that could not be brought to paſs, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing ſuch a commerce and correſpondence between the fleet and the city, in ſuch a conjuncture of jealouſy, that moſt men believed the Parliament would never have hearkened to it; and concluded, from the granting it, that there was another ſort of treaſure incloſed in that ſhip, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of thoſe who granted that indulgence to the city, had more money on board that veſſel than the cloth was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

Commiſſioners ſent to the Prince from the city with a petition.

Upon this liberty granted by the Parliament, a committee was ſent from the city with a petition to the Prince of Wales, "that he would reſtore the ſhip which "belonged

" belonged to his father's good ſubjects." With theſe men came letters from ſome of thoſe who were well known to be very ſolicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's ſervice, and privy to the treaty with the Scots, and whatever was intended by the Earl of Holland: the Counteſs of Carliſle, who was truſted by all that people, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, truſted Mr. Lowe, who was employed by the city in this negociation, to ſay many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the city, and how neceſſary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other letters and teſtimonies to give him credit, as a man truſted by all who intended to ſerve the King, who had with wonderful addreſs got him to be one of thoſe employed by the city, that he might, under that ſecurity, give ſuch animadverſions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was neceſſary. He was a man intelligent enough of the ſpirit and humour of the city, and very converſant with the nobility and gentry about the town; and though he was truſted by the Preſbyterian party, as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to inſinuate himſelf into many of the King's party, which did believe him fit to be truſted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a man of ſo voluble a tongue, and ſo everlaſting a talker, and ſo undertaking and vain, that no ſober man could be impoſed upon by him.

Upon the receipt of this petition, the Prince writ a long letter to the city, and incloſed in it a declaration, for the publiſhing of both which in print care was taken, the ſubſtance of which was, " the great affection " he bore to the city, and the proſperity thereof;" the whole being in ſuch a ſtyle, as might beſt pleaſe the Preſbyterians, with leſs care than ſhould have been uſed

The Prince writes to the city.

to

to preſerve the zeal of the King's party; and deſiring, "that they would join with him for the delivery of the "King his father out of priſon, and to make a good "underſtanding between his Majeſty and the Parlia-"ment, which his Highneſs deſired with all imaginable "concernment." The citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their ſhip releaſed without a good ſum of money, which the Prince told them "was ab-"ſolutely neceſſary for the payment of the ſeamen, and "he would receive it as a loan from them, and repay it "when a peace ſhould be made." So ſome of them returned to London, and the reſt remained with the fleet, coming and going for a month, and driving many bargains for other ſhips. By this means the Prince received advertiſement of the Scots continuing their march, and that thoſe who were incloſed in Colcheſter were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be ſure to receive in due time, the Earl of Holland being ready to declare as ſoon as their preſſures ſhould require it. After near a month's negociation, there was about twelve thouſand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that cloth ſhip was delivered to the merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been ſaid, that there was ſomewhat elſe beſides cloth in the body of it; for which there was not any ſearch ſuffered to be made.

Whilſt the Prince lay in the Downs, there was an enterpriſe neceſſary to be made on ſhore, which did not ſucceed to wiſh. Upon the firſt revolt of the fleet from the Parliament, and before it ſet ſail for Holland, it had taken one or two of thoſe blockhouſes, or caſtles, which are neareſt the Downs; and had left ſome ſeamen in them, with ſufficient proviſions to defend themſelves till the fleet ſhould return. The Prince found

theſe

theſe blockhouſes beſieged, and received intelligence out of them, that their proviſions were ſo near ſpent, that they could not hold out above ſo many days. The ſtrength that lay before them conſiſted more in horſe than foot; and at high tide the boats might go ſo near, that there ſeemed little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the beſiegers to riſe: and the ſeamen, having nothing elſe to do, offered to undertake the ſervice for the redemption of their fellows; many land officers being likewiſe on board, and ſome foot ſoldiers, the Prince ſent ſome of thoſe with the ſeamen to undertake the buſineſs; but it had no good iſſue; the tide was too far ſpent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their landing and the caſtle than they imagined, and the horſe charged them with ſuch reſolution, that many of the men were killed, and more taken priſoners, and the reſt forced to their boats with more diſorder than became them. And ſome other attempts being afterwards made with no better ſucceſs, the blockhouſes at laſt came into the hands of the enemy; which though of little inconvenience to the Prince, thoſe forts being of very ſmall importance to do any prejudice, yet there was ſome diſreputation in it; and it diſcredited the deſigns, which had not yet appeared very proſperous in any place; and any acceſs of good fortune raiſed the ſpirits of the Parliament's party, who eaſily were perſuaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under ſome mortification.

The Parliament prepares a fleet againſt the revolted fleet, under command of the Earl of Warwick.

By this time another fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better ſhips than had revolted, and the command thereof given to the Earl of Warwick; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the tide was come within ſight of the Prince; and there dropped anchor. So that both fleets

fleets lay within that diſtance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a battle; to which there ſeemed all alacrity in the Prince's fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the intelligence that the other was not well manned, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifeſt when they came within diſtance: but whether that fancy was from imagination or intelligence, it ſeemed to have no foundation in truth.

The Earl of Warwick and his fleet appeared reſolute and prepared enough for an engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the engagement of his brother the Earl of Holland, and had promiſed to join with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince ſhould write to the Earl to ſummon, or invite him to return to his allegiance. This was ſent by Harry Seymour, who quickly returned with an anſwer from the Earl, which, in terms of duty enough, humbly beſought his Highneſs "to put himſelf into the hands "of the Parliament; and that the fleet with him might "ſubmit to their obedience; upon which they ſhould be "pardoned for their revolt."

The Prince writes to the Earl of Warwick. His anſwer.

Though this might well have ſatisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevailed with that Mr. Crofts might give the Earl a viſit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having married his aunt, might be able to get a private audience of the Earl; which Seymour endeavoured, but could not obtain. But Crofts returned as the other did; and now there wanted only a wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he reſolved to attack them. All anchors were weighed, and preparations made to advance to the aſſault, the whole fleet being under ſail towards the other; which ſeemed equally reſolved and diſpoſed, though

though the wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compelled them a little to retire, where the river was ſomewhat narrower. In an inſtant the wind ceaſed, and there was a calm; ſo that the Prince could not advance; and ſome doubts aroſe, upon the narrowing of the river, as if ſome of his ſhips might want water in the engagement. In this deliberation the wind roſe again, but from another quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face; and would not ſuffer him to move towards the enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the river. Hereupon were new conſultations; great want of proviſions was diſcovered to be in the fleet, inſomuch as that they ſhould not be able to ſtay at ſea above ten days, and many ſhips would want ſooner, and therefore ſince the Earl of Warwick, as the wind ſtood, could not be compelled to fight, and they were in danger to be diſtreſſed for proviſions, it was thought moſt counſellable to put to ſea; where they could more commodiouſly engage in a battle, if the Earl of Warwick would advance; and if he did not, there was great reaſon to hope, that the Prince might meet with thoſe ſhips which were coming from Portſmouth to join with the Earl, and which might eaſily be ſurpriſed or taken by the Prince's fleet; which was much ſuperior to them in ſtrength.

At this time the Earl of Lautherdale arrived in a ſhip from Scotland; and having left Duke Hamilton upon his march towards Berwick, he was ſent to demand the performance of the treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that army. This confirmed the Prince in the purpoſe of putting out to ſea, ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary to carry the fleet firſt into Holland, before it could tranſport him into the northern parts. So the whole fleet went to ſea, and continued their courſe

The Prince went to ſea towards Holland, after having attempted to fight the Earl of Warwick.

courſe for Holland, with hope ſtill to meet with thoſe ſhips which were coming from Portſmouth. And meet with them they did in the night; which the Prince knew not till the morning; when one put the fault upon another: and it was now neceſſary to make all poſſible haſte to Holland; ſince by the conjunction with theſe ſhips, beſides all other advantages, the Earl of Warwick was now become ſuperior in the number, as well as the ſtrength and goodneſs of his ſhips; which appeared by his coming before Helvoetſluys, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

The Earl of Warwick follows him towards Holland.

Duke Hamilton enters England about the middle of July.

It was near the middle of July, when Duke Hamilton entered into England with his army, when he came to Carliſle, and immediately took that government from Sir Philip Muſgrave, and drew out all the Engliſh garriſon, and put Scots in their place. And after ſome few days ſtay there, the Engliſh and Scottiſh forces met at a rendezvous, in the way to that part of Cumberland where Lambert then quartered: and if they had continued their march, as they ought to have done, it is very probable they had broken that body of Lambert's. But the Duke would quarter that night two miles ſhort; and Lambert, in the ſame night, marched from thence in great diſorder and confuſion to the edge of Yorkſhire. The Duke reſted many days, that all his forces might come up, which came ſlowly out of Scotland. As ſoon as they were come up, he marched to Kendal; where he reſted again ſeveral days; the reaſon whereof nobody could imagine. It was ſuſpected it was that thoſe forces which were up in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, for the King, might undergo ſome defeat, that they might not be ſo united, as to control or obſtruct the Preſbyterian deſign. For after that army was entered into England, it moved, as hath been ſaid, by ſuch

The Duke's march.

ſuch very ſlow marches, and ſo negligently, and with ſo little apprehenſion of an enemy, and it was quartered at ſo great a diſtance, that the head quarter was very often twenty miles diſtant from ſome part of the army; the Duke himſelf performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his eaſe, and being wholly governed by the Lieutenant General of the army, and two or three other officers.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale marched, with his body of Engliſh, conſiſting of near four thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight hundred horſe, always a day before the army; by which they intended to have timely advertiſement of the enemy's motion, and likewiſe meant that he ſhould bear the firſt brunt of them, deſiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of Auguſt, when Sir Marmaduke Langdale advertiſed the Duke, by an expreſs, "that he had received unqueſtionable "intelligence that Cromwell was within two or three "days march, and reſolved to engage his army as ſoon "as poſſibly he could, and that he would not be di-"verted from it, by the people's gathering together at "any diſtance from him, in what poſture ſoever;" and therefore deſired his Grace, "that he would keep his "army cloſe together; for they could not be far aſunder "with any ſecurity;" and declared, "that he himſelf "would reſt, and wait the advance of the enemy, and "then retire back as he ſhould find it neceſſary." Sir M. Langdale a day before him.

The Duke, notwithſtanding this advertiſement, reformed not the order of his march in any degree, but was perſuaded, "that the enemy could not be ſo near; "and that, if Cromwell was advanced to ſuch a diſtance, "it was only with ſuch a party, as he would not pre-"ſume to engage with their whole army." In this

confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sir Marmaduke ſent him every day advice that confirmed the former, "and that his horſe had encountered ſome "of the enemy, and that their whole body was at "hand; but that it was true, it was not a body equal "in number to their army, yet all that Cromwell ex-"pected was to join battle with him." All this gained not credit, till Sir Marmaduke himſelf, making his retreat with very ſharp ſkirmiſhes, in which many men fell on both ſides, was purſued into the head quarters of the Duke; whither he likewiſe brought with him ſome priſoners, who averred, that the whole body of the army was within five or ſix miles, and marched as faſt as they were able.

Sir M. Langdale gives him an account of the Engliſh army.

The Duke was confounded with the intelligence, and knew not what to do: the army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no ſhew of any purpoſe to fight. In this amazement, the Duke ſtayed himſelf with ſome officers at Preſton; and cauſed his foot to be drawn over a bridge, that they might march towards Wiggan, a town in Lancaſhire, where he ſhould, as he thought, find ſome regiments, and where they might make ſome ſtand till the reſt ſhould come up. In the mean time Sir Marmaduke Langdale returned to his troops, the Duke having promiſed to ſend him ſome troops to aſſiſt, and that ſome foot ſhould be ſent to keep a lane, that would flank his men upon his retreat. Sir Marmaduke retired before the enemy, and drew up his troops into the cloſes near Preſton. The enemy followed him cloſe, and preſſed him very hard; notwithſtanding which he maintained the diſpute for above ſix hours with great courage, and with very great loſs to the enemy in officers, and common ſoldiers; inſomuch

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as they ſeemed to retire, at leaſt to make a ſtand. And in all this time the Scots ſent him no aſſiſtance, but concluded that it was not Cromwell's whole army that aſſaulted him, but only ſome party, which he would himſelf be well enough able to diſengage himſelf from. And Sir Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, "that he verily believed, if one thouſand foot "had then been ſent to him, he ſhould have gained the "day:" and Cromwell himſelf acknowledged, that he never ſaw foot fight ſo deſperately as they did.

Sir M. Langdale fights, and is beaten, and Duke Hamilton routed.

The Scots continued their march over the bridge, without taking care to ſecure the lane, which he had recommended to them; by which Cromwell's horſe came upon his flank, whilſt he was equally preſſed in the van. So that his excellent body of foot being broken, Sir Marmaduke, and ſuch of his horſe as kept together, were driven into the town; where the Duke remained yet with ſome officers; who all retreated over a ford to the foot, who were in equal diſorder. For as ſoon as the Engliſh forces were broken, the Scots were preſently beaten from the bridge, and forced to a very diſorderly march. However, the Duke had ſtill a great part of his own army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to Wiggan; thence to Warrington; where Baily capitulated, and delivered up all the foot; thence to Nantwich, and at laſt to Uxeter; and in all that time many of the Scottiſh noblemen forſook him, and rendered themſelves priſoners to the gentlemen of the country; and Cromwell's troops under Lambert preſſed ſo hard upon the rear, that they killed, and took as many priſoners as they pleaſed, without hazarding their own men. The Duke was ſcarce got into Uxeter, when his troops, which made no reſiſtance, were beaten in upon him, and ſo cloſe purſued by Cromwell's horſe

under Lambert, that himſelf and all the principal officers (ſome few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the ſwiftneſs of their horſes, made their eſcape) were taken priſoners: the Duke neither behaving himſelf like a General, nor with that courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all ſubmiſſions, and all excuſes to thoſe who took him.

The Duke taken.

Thus his whole army was routed, and defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deſerved it by any oppoſition; the reſt taken priſoners, all their cannon and baggage taken, and their colours; only ſome of their horſe, which had been quartered moſt backward, made haſte to carry news to their country of the ill ſucceſs of their arms. They who did not take the way for Scotland, were for the moſt part taken by the activity of the country, or the horſe that purſued them; whereof Sir Marmaduke Langdale, after he had made his way with ſome of his officers and ſoldiers, who ſtood with him till they found it ſafeſt to diſperſe themſelves, had the ill fortune to be diſcovered; and was ſo taken priſoner, and ſent to the caſtle of Nottingham. All this great victory was got by Cromwell with an army amounting to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminiſhed half a hundred in obtaining this victory, after the Engliſh forces under Langdale had been defeated.

Sir M. Langdale taken.

It may be proper now to mention, that the Lord Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many miſadventures; which detained them from attending upon the Prince in the fleet. As ſoon as they heard that his Highneſs had put himſelf on board a ſhip at Calais to find the fleet in Holland, they embarked at Dieppe, in a French man of war that was bound for Dunkirk; where

where when they arrived, they found a gentleman, a ſervant of the Prince's, who informed them, "that the "Prince was with the whole fleet in the Downs, and "that he had ſent him with a letter to the Marſhal "Ranzaw, who was Governor of Dunkirk, to borrow a "frigate of him;" which he had there, and had by ſome civil meſſage offered to lend to his Highneſs; and the Marſhal, who received them with great civility, aſſured them that the frigate ſhould be ready the next day, and, if they pleaſed to make uſe of it, ſhould carry them to the Prince.

They looked upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much ſooner at the fleet, than they had before expected to be; and ſo, without weighing the dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreſeen, they embraced the occaſion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at ſea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament ſhips; which, by the Prince's being with his fleet in the Downs, and ſo being maſter at ſea, was hardly poſſible. So they unwarily put themſelves into that frigate, and ſet ſail in the evening from Dunkirk; preſuming that they ſhould, the next morning, find themſelves in the Downs with the Prince. But there was ſo dead a calm that night, that they made very little way; and, the next morning, they found that they were chaſed by ſix or ſeven frigates of Oſtend. In ſhort, they were taken priſoners, and plundered of all they had, (which amounted to good value in jewels and money), and were carried into Oſtend, where, though they were preſently at liberty, they were compelled to ſtay many days, not without ſome hope, raiſed by the civility of the Spaniſh governor, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promiſed an entire

reſtitution of all that they had loſt. But that being without any effect, that brutiſh people, the free-booters, being ſubject to no government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happened, and that they would attend his command at Fluſhing; whither they eaſily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the Downs, ſent a frigate for them to Fluſhing; where they embarked ſeveral times, and were at ſea the whole night, and in the morning driven back by high winds, ſometimes into Fluſhing, ſometimes to Ramekins; and ſo were compelled to go to Middleborough, and after a month's ſtay in thoſe places, and many attempts to get to ſea, they received order from the Prince to attend him in Holland, whither he had reſolved to go, as ſoon as the Earl of Lautherdale arrived from Scotland in the fleet, and had delivered his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the Scottiſh army; which was then entered into England. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the Hague, having left the fleet before Goree and near Helvoetſluys.

The Prince comes to the Hague.

The Prince was received by the States with all outward reſpect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge; his Royal Highneſs every night lodging in the palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of Orange and the Princeſs lay, and where both his Royal Highneſs and the Duke of York had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princeſs Royal, the Prince of Orange himſelf keeping his own table open, according to cuſtom, for the reſort of ſuch of the States, or officers of the army, or other noble perſons, who frequently repaired thither.

The Prince of Wales's Court was full of faction, and animoſity

animoſity againſt each other, ſo that the new comers were not only very well received by the Prince, but very welcome to every body, who being angry with the other counſellors there, believed that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the Hague, when Herbert the Attorney General came to them, and congratulated their arrival, and told them "how much they had been wanted, and "how much Prince Rupert longed for their company." And within a very ſhort time after, Prince Rupert himſelf came to bid them welcome, with all poſſible grace, and profeſſion of great kindneſs and eſteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly againſt the whole adminiſtration of the fleet, in which moſt part of the Court, which had been preſent, and who agreed in nothing elſe, concurred with them. Diviſions among the Prince of Wales's Court.

The whole clamour was againſt the Lord Colepepper, and Sir Robert Long the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholly ſubſervient to the Lord Colepepper. They accuſed them of corruption, not only with reference to the cloth ſhip, but to the releaſe of very many other ſhips, which they had diſcharged upon no other reaſon, but as it would be a very popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the city of London. Though there was much diſcourſe of money brought to both their cabins by Mr. Lowe, yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord Colepepper, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having ſome infirmities, and a multitude of enemies, he was never abſolved from any thing of which any man accuſed him; and the other was ſo notoriouſly inclined to that way of huſbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great

great riches were parted with, and had been releaſed for little or no money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it eaſily believed that ſuch unthrifty counſel could not have been given, except by thoſe who were well rewarded for it; which ſtill fell upon thoſe two.

There was a general murmur that the fleet had lain ſo long idle at the mouth of the river, when it had been propoſed that it might go to the Iſle of Wight, where they might, in the conſternation the whole kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have releaſed the King; Cariſbrook being near the ſea, a caſtle not ſtrong in itſelf, the iſland well affected, and at that time under no ſuch power as could ſubdue them. And why ſuch an attempt, which, if unſucceſsful, could have been attended with no damage conſiderable, was not made, was never fully anſwered.

They were very angry with Batten, and would have it treachery in him, that the two fleets did not fight with each other, when they were ſo near engaging in the river; which, they ſaid, they might well have done before the wind changed, if he had not diſſuaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the ſeamen joined with them. But it was but clamour, for moſt diſpaſſionate men gave him a good teſtimony in that affair, and that he behaved himſelf like a ſkilful officer, and was very forward to fight whilſt there was reaſon to effect it. The other reproach upon him, of paſſing by the ſhips which came from Portſmouth, in the night, was not ſo well anſwered: for it was known, though he ſaid that they were paſſed by, and out of reach before he was informed of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reaſonably enough have been done, out of

of apprehenſion, beſides the inconvenience of a night engagement, that the noiſe of the conflict might have called the Earl of Warwick out of the river to their aſſiſtance, before they could have maſtered them; there being two or three of the beſt ſhips of the royal navy, which would have made a very notable reſiſtance. But this being never urged by himſelf, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himſelf, it was imputed to his cowardice, of which the ſeamen, as well as the courtiers, accuſed him; though, as was generally thought, without reaſon, and only with prejudice to the man for what he had done before, and becauſe he was a man of a regular and orderly courſe of life, and command, and of very few words, and leſs paſſion than at that time raiſed men to reputation in that province. There was only one man in the Council of whom nobody ſpoke ill, nor laid any thing to his charge; and that was the Lord Hopton. But there was then ſuch a combination, by the countenance of Prince Rupert, with all the other lords of the Court, and the Attorney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himſelf to have a leſs eſteem of him than his ſingular virtue, and fidelity, and his unqueſtionable courage, and induſtry (all which his enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deſerve.

This ſtate the Court was in, when the two lately mentioned counſellors came; who quickly diſcerned, by the unſteady humours and ſtrong paſſions all men were poſſeſſed with, that they ſhould not preſerve the reputation they ſeemed to have with every body for the preſent, any long time, and foreſaw that neceſſity would preſently break in upon them like an armed man, that would diſturb and diſtract all their counſels. And

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there was, even at the inſtant in which they arrived at the Hague, the fatal advertiſement of that defeat of the Scottiſh army, which muſt break all their meaſures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his father in the utmoſt deſpair.

The rumour of this defeat came to the Hague the next day after the Prince came thither, but not ſo particularly that the extent of it was known, or the tragical effects yet throughly underſtood. And his Highneſs appointing his Council to meet together the next morning after the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he informed them of the Lord Lautherdale's meſſage to him from the Parliament of Scotland, and that he very earneſtly preſſed him, even ſince the news of the defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their army; and his Highneſs thought fit, that the Earl ſhould give an account of his commiſſion at the Board; whereupon he was ſent for in: and, that all reſpect might be ſhewed to the Parliament of Scotland, he had a chair allowed him to ſit upon.

The letter of the Parliament of Scotland to the Prince.

He firſt read his commiſſion from the Parliament, and then the letter which the Parliament had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great affection of the Parliament, "that out of their "native and conſtant affection and duty to their "King, and finding that, contrary to the duty of ſub-"jects, his Majeſty was impriſoned by the traitorous "and rebellious army in England, they had raiſed an "army in that kingdom, that, ſince their advice, coun-"ſel, and intreaty in an amicable way, could not pre-"vail, might by force redeem his Majeſty's perſon "from that captivity; which they held themſelves "obliged

" obliged by their ſolemn League and Covenant to en-
" deavour to do, with the hazard of their lives and for-
" tunes: that this army was already entered into Eng-
" land, under the command of James Duke Hamil-
" ton, whom, in reſpect of his known and eminent fi-
" delity to his Majeſty, they had made General thereof;
" and having now done all that was in their power to
" do for the preſent, and having taken due care for the
" ſeaſonable ſupply and recruit of that army, they now
" ſent to his Highneſs, that he would with all poſſible
" ſpeed, according to the promiſe which the King his
" father had made, tranſport his royal perſon, that he
" might himſelf be in the head of that army to obtain
" the liberty of his father;" and they deſired him,
" that for the circumſtances of his journey he would be
" adviſed by the Earl of Lautherdale, to whom they had
" given full inſtructions;" and they beſought his High-
neſs "to give credit to him in all things."

The Earl likewiſe ſhewed his inſtructions, by which none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *godly* men ſhould be ſuffered to be about the perſon of his Highneſs; and particularly that neither Prince Rupert, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor ſome other perſons ſhould be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all theſe things were read and enlarged upon, he preſſed the Prince, with all imaginable inſtance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their army in England, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would loſe no time from entering upon his journey; and all this with as inſolent and ſupercilious behaviour, as if their army had been triumphant.

When he had ſaid all he meant to ſay, he ſate ſtill,

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as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any body elſe would ſay to what he propoſed. It was then moved, "that, if he had no more to ſay, he would "withdraw, to the end that the Council might debate "the matter, before they gave their advice to the "Prince." He took this motion very ill, and ſaid "he "was a privy counſellor to the King in Scotland, and "being likewiſe a commiſſioner from the Parliament, "he ought not to be excluded from any debate that "concerned the affair upon which he was employed." This he urged in ſo imperious and offenſive a manner, that drew on much ſharpneſs; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well ſince the treaty at Uxbridge, where they had often differed in matters of the higheſt importance, treated him with the ſame liberty they had then been accuſtomed to. He told him, "he meant not to ſay any thing in that "debate, when he ſhould be withdrawn, that he deſired "ſhould be concealed from him, or unheard by him; "and that he was ready to ſay, that in his judgment, "all he had propoſed was very unreaſonable; but he "would not that the dignity of the Board ſhould be "proſtituted to his demand, nor that he ſhould be "preſent there at any debate." The Earl replied, "that he "was ſent by the Parliament and kingdom of Scotland, "to the Prince of Wales, and that he did proteſt againſt "having any thing he propoſed to be treated, and de-"bated by, or before the Engliſh Board; nor did he "conſider what was or ſhould be ſaid, by any man "but the Prince himſelf." The Prince told him, "it "was neceſſary that he himſelf ſhould hear, and know "what the opinion of the Council ſhould be; and that "it was as unreaſonable that he ſhould be preſent;" and thereupon commanded him to withdraw; which he

Deliberation in the Prince's Council about it.

he preſently ſubmitted to with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, "that there were ſome perſons "come to the town, the laſt night, who came out of "England after the news of the victory over the Scots "came to London, with all the circumſtances thereof; "and of the Duke's being taken priſoner;" and that the Prince of Orange had told him, "that the States "had received intelligence of it from their ambaſſador "Newport, who reſided in London." Upon the whole matter, the Prince reſolved "to meet again the next "morning to conſult farther what he was to do, and "that probably, in the mean time, the intelligence "would be more perfect, and unqueſtionable, and they "ſhould ſee whether Lautherdale would take any notice "of it."

But the night made no alteration in him; he appeared the next morning with the ſame confidence, and the ſame importunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his journey. He was aſked, "whether he "had received no information of ſome ill fortune, that "had befallen that army, which might ſo change the "caſe ſince he left Scotland, that what might then "have been fit, would be now unfit and uncounſella-"ble?" The Earl ſaid, "he knew well what the news "was from England; and whatever he hoped, that he "was not confident it was not true: however he hoped, "that would not change the Prince's purpoſe, but "that it would more concern him to purſue the reſolu-"tion he was formerly obliged to; that if any misfor-"tune had befallen that army, the Prince had the more "reaſon to endeavour to repair it; which could be "done no other way, than by his making all poſſible "haſte into Scotland; which remained ſtill a kingdom "entire, wholly devoted to his ſervice; and that, by

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" the benefit of his preſence, might quickly draw to-
" gether another army, towards which there was a good
" beginning already by the preſervation of that body
" under Monroe: that if his Highneſs ſhould decline
" this only probable way to preſerve himſelf, and to
" recover his other two kingdoms, it would be thought
" he had little zeal for the liberty of his father, and as
" little for his own intereſt, and for the preſervation of
" the Crown: he therefore beſought his Highneſs,
" that he would cauſe ſome of his ſhips to be forth-
" with made ready, and would therein immediately
" tranſport himſelf into Scotland; whereby the late
" wound would, in a ſhort time, be healed; which
" would otherwiſe prove incurable."

But Scotland was ſo well known, and the power of Argyle, (which muſt be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary party), that his propoſition was by all diſpaſſionate men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearkened to: and the news from London, that Cromwell was marched into Scotland with his whole army, confirmed every honeſt man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of Lautherdale ſeemed rather to think of going thither himſelf, where his own concernments were in great danger, than of preſſing the Prince to ſo hazardous a voyage; and after a few weeks more ſtay at the Hague, upon the intelligence from his friends in Scotland, how affairs went there, he returned thither in the ſame ſhip that tranſported him from thence, with as much rage and malice againſt the Council about the Prince, as againſt Cromwell himſelf.

The Earl of Lautherdale returns into Scotland.

The defeat of the Scottiſh army at Preſton, though it was not at firſt believed to be an entire victory over their whole body, there being double that number that

was

was not there or that marched from thence, broke or diſappointed moſt of the deſigns which were on foot for raiſing men, in thoſe northern counties, for the King's ſervice, to have joined and united under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Sir Thomas Tildeſly, a gentleman of a fair eſtate, who had ſerved the King from the beginning of the war with good courage, was then with a body of Engliſh, with which he had beſieged the caſtle of Lancaſter, and was upon the point of reducing it, when the news of Preſton arrived. It was then neceſſary to quit that deſign; and hearing that Major General Monroe, who, ſhortly after the Duke marched out of Scotland, followed him with a recruit of above ſix thouſand horſe and foot, was come to the ſkirts of Lancaſhire, he retired thither to him, having gathered up many of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's men, who had been broken at Preſton, and ſome others who had been newly levied. Sir Thomas Tildeſly moved Monroe, "that his forces, and ſome regiments of Scots, who "yet remained about Kendal, might join with the "Engliſh under his command, and march together "towards Preſton, and follow Cromwell in the rear, as "he purſued the Scots:" which they might very well have done, being a body, when in conjunction, of above eight thouſand men; which was equal in number to the army under Cromwell. But the Major General would not conſent to the motion, but retired to the farther part of Weſtmoreland; and the Engliſh followed them in the rear; preſuming, that though they would not be perſuaded to advance after Cromwell, yet that they would chooſe ſome other more convenient poſt to make a ſtand in, if the enemy followed them; and then that they would be glad to join with them: to which he was preſſed again the next day, but con-

Sir Tho. Tildeſly retires to Monroe.

tinued ſtill faſt in his ſullen reſolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through Cumberland, where he had left a ſad remembrance of his having paſſed that way a few days before, having then raiſed vaſt ſums of money upon the poor people, and now in his retreat plundered almoſt all they had left.

The Engliſh marched into the biſhoprick of Durham, to join with ſuch new levies as were then raiſing there; and their number being increaſed by the addition of thoſe troops which were under the command of Sir Henry Bellingham, they met again Major General Monroe in Northumberland, and deſired him, "that "they might unite together againſt the common "enemy, who equally deſired the deſtruction of them "both." But he reſolutely refuſed, and told them plainly, "that he would march directly into Scotland, "and expect orders there;" which he did with all poſſible expedition.

Monroe having entered England, upon Hamilton's defeat retreats towards Scotland.

Sir Philip Muſgrave believed that he and his foot might be welcome to Carliſle: and went thither; and ſent Sir Henry Bellingham, Sir Robert Strickland, and Colonel Chater, to the Earl of Lanrick, and offered that they ſhould carry their troops into Scotland to join with him; who he knew well would ſtand in need of help. But he durſt not accept their motion, ſaying, "if he ſhould, Argyle would from thence take an ex-"cuſe to invite Cromwell;" who they heard was then upon his march towards Berwick, to bring his army into Scotland: upon which Sir Henry Bellingham returned with the party he commanded into Cumberland, paying for all they had through that part of Scotland it was neceſſary for them to paſs through.

Sir Philip Muſgrave to Carliſle.

Sir Philip Muſgrave had no better ſucceſs with Sir William

William Levingſton, the Governor of Carliſle; for though he received him very civilly, and entered into a treaty with him, (for he knew well enough that he was not able to victual or defend the place without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, and therefore deſired the aſſiſtance of Sir Philip in both), yet when articles were agreed upon, and ſigned by Sir Philip Muſgrave, the Governor fell back, and refuſed to engage himſelf "not "to deliver up the garriſon without the conſent of "Sir Philip Muſgrave;" who was contented that none of his men ſhould come within the walls, until it ſhould be moſt apparent, that they could no longer keep the field.

Within a ſhort time after, orders were ſent out of Scotland for the delivery of Berwick and Carliſle to the Parliament; in which orders there was not the leaſt mention of making conditions for the Engliſh. Sir Philip Muſgrave had yet Appleby caſtle in his own poſſeſſion, having taken it after he had delivered Carliſle to Duke Hamilton, and after he was marched from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made conditions for himſelf, and one hundred and fifty officers, many of them gentlemen of quality, who lived again to venture, and ſome to loſe, their lives for the King: after which, he ſoon tranſported himſelf into Holland.

Berwick and Carliſle delivered to the Parliament.

Cromwell reſolved to loſe no advantage he had got, but as ſoon as he had perfected his defeat of Duke Hamilton, by gathering up as many priſoners as he could of the diſperſed troops, he marched directly towards Scotland, to pull up the roots there, from which any farther trouble might ſpring hereafter; though he was very earneſtly called upon from York-

ſhire to reduce thoſe at Pontefract caſtle; which grew very troubleſome to all their neighbours; and, not ſatisfied with drawing contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made excurſions into places at a great diſtance, and took divers ſubſtantial men priſoners, and carried them to the caſtle; where they remained till they redeemed themſelves by great ranſoms. However, he would not defer his northern march; but believing that he ſhould be in a ſhort time capable to take vengeance upon thoſe affronts, he ſatisfied himſelf in ſending Colonel Rainſborough, with ſome troops of horſe and foot, to reſtrain their adventures, and to keep them blocked up; and himſelf, with the reſt of his army, continued their march for Scotland, it being about the end of Auguſt, or beginning of September, before the harveſt of that country was yet ripe; and ſo capable of being deſtroyed.

Cromwell marches into Scotland.

It was generally believed, that the Marquis of Argyle earneſtly invited him to this progreſs; for the defeat of the Scottiſh army in England had not yet enough made him maſter of Scotland. There was ſtill a committee of Parliament ſitting at Edinburgh, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of Lanrick ſwayed without a rival; and the troops which had been raiſed under Monroe for the recruit of the Duke's army, were ſtill together, and at the Earl's devotion; ſo that the Marquis was ſtill upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite Cromwell, he was very glad of his coming; and made all poſſible haſte to bid him welcome upon his entering into the kingdom. They made great ſhews of being mutually glad to ſee each other, being linked together by many promiſes, and profeſſions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no act of hoſtility committed; Cromwell declaring,

declaring, "that he came with his army to preſerve the "godly party, and to free the kingdom from a force, "which it was under, of malignant men, who had "forced the nation to break the friendſhip with their "brethren of England, who had been ſo faithful to "them: that it having pleaſed God to defeat that army "under Duke Hamilton, who endeavoured to engage "the two nations in each other's blood, he was come "thither to prevent any farther miſchief, and to re-"move thoſe from authority who had uſed their power "ſo ill; and that he hoped he ſhould, in very few "days, return with an aſſurance of the brotherly affec-"tion of that kingdom to the Parliament of England; "which did not deſire in any degree to invade their "liberties, or infringe their privileges." He was conducted to Edinburgh by the Marquis of Argyle, where he was received with all ſolemnity, and the reſpect due to the deliverer of their country, and his army quartered about, and ſupplied with all proviſions the country could yield. Is received at Edinburgh.

The Earl of Lanrick, and all the Hamiltonian faction, (that is, all who had a mind to continue of it), were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remained at Edinburgh were reſolved to obey Argyle; who they ſaw could protect them. There were then enough left of the committee of Parliament to take care of the ſafety and good of the kingdom, without putting Cromwell to help them by the power of the Engliſh; which would have been a great diſcredit to their government. Whilſt he remained their gueſt, (whom they entertained magnificently), Argyle thought himſelf able, by the laws of Scotland, to reform all that was amiſs, and preſerve the government upon the true foundation. So the committee of Parliament ſent to Monroe an

The committee of the Scottish Parliament order Monroe to disband.

order and command to disband his troops; which when he seemed resolved not to do, he quickly discerned that Cromwell must be arbitrator; and thereupon he observed the orders of the committee very punctually: so that there was no power in Scotland that could oppose the command of Argyle; the committee of Parliament, the Council, all the magistrates of Edinburgh, were at his devotion; and whoever were not so, were either in prison, or fled. The pulpits were full of invectives against the sinfulness of the late engagement, and solemn fasts enjoined by the Assembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveness for that heinous transgression; the Chancellor Lowden giving the good example, by making his recantation and humble submission with many tears. Cromwell had reason to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a kingdom as he could wish; and having thus concerted all things with his bosom friend Argyle, (who resolved, as soon as he was withdrawn a distance from Edinburgh, that he and his army might not be thought to have an influence upon the councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he should think fit to do),

Cromwell returns for England.

he returned for England; where he thought his presence was like to be wanted.

The committee of Parliament at Edinburgh (who had authority to convene the Parliament when the major part of them should please; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were such as were thought most like to pursue the way they were entered into) sent out their summons to call the Parliament. They who appeared, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the same passion and zeal with which they had entered into the engagement, they now declared it unlawful and ungodly;

The Scottish Parliament being called, condemn Duke Hamilton's engagement.

godly; and the Aſſembly joining with them, they excommunicated all who had the moſt eminent parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any office in the State, or of ſitting in Council, or in Parliament; ſubjecting thoſe who had ſinned in a leſs degree, to ſuch penalties as would for ever make them ſubject to their government. By theſe judgments, amongſt others, the Earl of Lanrick was deprived of being Secretary of State, and that office was conferred upon the Earl of Lothian; who, in the beginning of the rebellion, had been employed by the conſpirators into France, and coming afterwards into England was impriſoned thereupon, and being after ſet at liberty continued amongſt thoſe who, upon all occaſions, carried the rebellion higheſt, and ſhewed the moſt implacable malice to the perſon of the King. And by this time Argyle was become ſo much more maſter of Scotland than Cromwell was of England, that he had not ſo much as the ſhadow of a Parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a neceſſity to exerciſe his known great talent of diſſimulation, all men doing as he enjoined them, without aſking the reaſon of his direction.

To return to the ſtate of the King's affairs in England: when the Earl of Norwich and the Lord Capel with the Kentiſh and Eſſex troops were incloſed in Colcheſter, their friends could not reaſonably hope that the Scottiſh army, which had ſo long deferred their march into England, contrary to their promiſe, would, though they were now come in, march faſt enough to relieve Colcheſter before they ſhould be reduced by famine. The Earl of Holland thought it neceſſary, ſince many who were in Colcheſter had engaged themſelves upon his promiſes and authority, now

The Earl of Holland rifes; goes to Kingſton.

to begin his enterprise; to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of Buckingham, who was General of the horse, the Lord Francis Villiers his brother, and divers other young noblemen, spurred him on. And he might have the better opinion of his interest and party, in that his purpose of rising, and putting himself into arms for the relief of Colchester, was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the town. There was a great appearance every morning, at his lodging, of those officers who were known to have served the King; his commissions shewed in many hands; no question being more commonly asked, than "when doth my Lord Holland go out?" and the answer was, "such and such a day;" and the hour he did take horse, when he was accompanied by an hundred horse from his house, was publickly talked of two or three days before.

His first rendezvous was at Kingston upon Thames; where he stayed two nights, and one whole day, expecting a great resort to him, not only of officers, but of common men, who had promised, and listed themselves under several officers; and he imputed the security he had enjoyed so long, notwithstanding his purpose was so generally known, to the apprehension both the Parliament and the army had of the affections of the city to join with him; and he believed, that he should not only remain secure at Kingston, as long as he should think fit to stay there, but that some entire regiments of the city would march out with him for the relief of Colchester.

During the short stay he made at Kingston, some officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither, and many persons of honour and quality, in their coaches, came to visit him and his company from London;

London; and returned thither again to provide what was ſtill wanting, and reſolved to be with him ſoon enough. The principal officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was Dalbeer a Dutchman, of name and reputation, and good experience in war; who had ſerved the Parliament as Commiſſary General of the horſe under the Earl of Eſſex, and having been left out in the new model, was amongſt thoſe diſcontented officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the army; which they deſpiſed for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus Dalbeer was glad to depend upon the Earl of Holland, who thought himſelf likewiſe happy in ſuch an officer. The keeping good guards, and ſending out parties towards the Kentiſh parts, where it was known ſome troops remained ſince the laſt commotion there, was committed to his care. But he diſcharged it ſo ill, or his orders were ſo ill obſerved, that the ſecond or third morning after their coming to Kingſton, ſome of the Parliament's foot, with two or three troops of Colonel Rich's horſe, fell upon a party of the Earl's about Nonſuch; and beat, and purſued them into Kingſton, before thoſe within had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and moſt of the reſt making too much haſte out of town, and never offering to charge thoſe troops. In this confuſion the Lord Francis Villiers, a youth of rare beauty and comelineſs of perſon, endeavouring to make reſiſtance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Moſt of the foot made a ſhift to conceal themſelves, and ſome officers, until they found means to retire to their cloſe manſions in London. The Earl with near an hundred horſe (the reſt wiſely taking the way to London, where they were never enquired after) wandered without purpoſe or deſign,

is routed there:

deſign, and was, two or three days after, beſet in an inn at St. Neots in Huntingtonſhire, by thoſe few horſe who purſued him, being joined with ſome troops of Colonel Scroop's; where the Earl delivered himſelf priſoner to the officer without reſiſtance: yet at the ſame time Dalbeer and Kenelm Digby, the eldeſt ſon of Sir Kenelm, were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offered to defend themſelves, was not known; and the Duke of Buckingham eſcaped, and happily found a way into London; where he lay concealed, till he had an opportunity to ſecure himſelf by being tranſported into Holland; where the Prince was; who received him with great grace and kindneſs. The Earl of Holland remained priſoner in the place where he was taken, till by order from the Parliament he was ſent to Warwick caſtle, where he was kept priſoner with great ſtrictneſs.

Eſcapes to St. Neots, where he is taken.

The total defeat of the Scottiſh army lately mentioned ſucceeded this, and when thoſe noble perſons within Colcheſter were advertiſed of both, they knew well that there was no poſſibility of relief, nor could they ſubſiſt longer to expect it, being preſſed with want of all kind of victual, and having eaten near all their horſes. They ſent therefore to Fairfax, to treat about the delivery of the town upon reaſonable conditions; but he refuſed to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the officers and gentlemen; the common ſoldiers he was contented to diſmiſs. A day or two was ſpent in deliberation. They within propoſed "to make a briſk ſally; and thereby "to ſhift for themſelves, as many as could." But they had too few horſe, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that enterpriſe. Then, "that "they ſhould open a port, and every man die with "their

" their arms in their hands;" but that way they could only be ſure of being killed, without much hurting their adverſaries, who had ways enough ſecurely to aſſault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themſelves up priſoners at mercy; and were, all the officers and gentlemen, led into the public hall of the town; where they were locked up, and a ſtrong guard ſet upon them. They were required preſently to ſend a liſt of all their names to the General; which they did; and, within a ſhort time after, a guard was ſent to bring Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, and Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne to the General, being ſate with his Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very ſhort diſcourſe told, " that " after ſo long and ſo obſtinate a defence until they " found it neceſſary to deliver themſelves up to mercy, " it was neceſſary, for the example of others, and that " the peace of the kingdom might be no more diſ- " turbed in that manner, that ſome military juſtice " ſhould be executed; and therefore, that Council " had determined they three ſhould be preſently ſhot " to death;" for which they were adviſed to prepare themſelves; and without conſidering, or hearing what they had a mind to ſay for themſelves, they were led into a yard there by; where they found three files of muſqueteers ready for their diſpatch. Colcheſter delivered.

Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne was a gentleman of Florence; and had ſerved the King in the war, and afterwards remained in London till the unhappy adventure of Colcheſter, and then accompanied his friends thither; and had only Engliſh enough to make himſelf underſtood, that he deſired a pen and ink and paper, that he might write a letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highneſs might know in what manner he loſt his life,

to

to the end his heirs might poſſeſs his eſtate. The officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durſt not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reaſonably demand: when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy ſome conſideration; they had choſen him out of the liſt for his quality, conceiving him to be an Engliſh gentleman, and preferred him for being a knight, that they might ſacrifice three of that rank.

This delay brought the news of this bloody reſolution to the priſoners in the town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord Capel prevailed with an officer, or ſoldier, of their guard, to carry a letter, ſigned by the chief perſons and officers, and in the name of the reſt, to the General; in which they took notice of that judgment, and deſired him "either to for-"bear the execution of it, or that they might all, "who were equally guilty with thoſe three, undergo "the ſame ſentence with them." The letter was delivered, but had no other effect than the ſending to the officer to diſpatch his order, reſerving the Italian to the laſt. Sir Charles Lucas was their firſt work; who fell dead; upon which Sir George Liſle ran to him, embraced him, and kiſſed him; and then ſtood up, and looked thoſe who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they ſtood at too great a diſtance, ſpake to them to come nearer; to which one of them ſaid, "I'll warrant you, ſir, we'll hit you:" he anſwered ſmiling, "Friends, I have been nearer you, when you "have miſſed me." Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, ſo that he fell down dead of many wounds without ſpeaking word. Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne had his doublet off, and expected the

Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle ſhot to death.

the next turn; but the officer told him "he had order "to carry him back to his friends;" which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had conſidered, that if they ſhould in this manner have taken the life of a foreigner, who ſeemed to be a perſon of quality, their friends or children who ſhould viſit Italy might pay dear for many generations; and therefore they commanded the officer, "when the other "two ſhould be dead, to carry him back again to the "other priſoners."

The two who were thus murdered were men of great name and eſteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horſe, and the other of foot, as the nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. Lucas was the younger brother of the Lord Lucas, and his heir both to the honour and eſtate, and had a preſent fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince of Orange, and always amongſt the horſe. He had little converſation in that Court, where great civility was practiſed, and learned. He was very brave in his perſon, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature ſcarce to be lived with, of no good underſtanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very moroſe converſation; yet they all deſired to accompany him in his death. Liſle was a gentleman who had had the ſame education with the other, and at the ſame time an officer of foot; had all the courage of the other, and led his men to a battle with ſuch an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed; his ſoldiers never forſaking him; and the party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceneſs of courage he had the ſofteſt and moſt gentle nature

Their characters.

nature imaginable; was kind to all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

The manner of taking the lives of theſe worthy men was new, and without example, and concluded by moſt men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to Ireton, who ſwayed the General, and was upon all occaſions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. As ſoon as this bloody ſacrifice was ended, Fairfax, with the chief officers, went to the town-houſe to viſit the priſoners; and the General (who was an ill orator on the moſt plauſible occaſion) applied with his civility to the Earl of Norwich, and the Lord Capel; and, ſeeming in ſome degree to excuſe the having done that, which he ſaid "the military juſtice required," he told them, "that all the lives of the reſt were ſafe; and "that they ſhould be well treated, and diſpoſed of as "the Parliament ſhould direct." The Lord Capel had not ſo ſoon digeſted this ſo late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the viſit of thoſe who cauſed it, with ſuch a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but ſaid, "that they ſhould do well to finiſh their "work, and execute the ſame rigour to the reſt;" upon which there were two or three ſuch ſharp and bitter replies between him and Ireton, that coſt him his life in few months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he received order to ſend the Earl of Norwich and the Lord Capel to Windſor caſtle; where they had afterwards the ſociety of Duke Hamilton, to lament each other's miſfortunes; and after ſome time they two were ſent to the Tower.

Though the city had undergone ſo many ſevere mortifications, that it might very well have been diſcouraged from entering into any more dangerous engagements,

gagements, at leaſt all other people might have been terrified from depending again upon ſuch engagements, yet the preſent fright was no ſooner over than they recovered new ſpirits for new undertakings; and ſeemed always to have obſerved ſomewhat in the laſt miſcarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obſtruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the city, who were controlled and diſpirited by the preſence of the army, when that was at a diſtance appeared reſolute, and briſk in any contradiction and oppoſition of their counſels. So that Cromwell had no ſooner begun his march towards the North, and Fairfax his into Kent, but the Common Council delivered a petition to the Parliament, "that "they would entertain a perſonal treaty with the King, "that the kingdom might be reſtored again to a happy "peace; which could be hoped for no other way." This was the firſt preſumption that had been offered, ſince their vote of no more addreſſes to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this ſeemed to be made with ſo univerſal a concurrence of the city, that the Parliament durſt not give a poſitive refuſal to it. And in truth the major part thereof did really deſire the ſame thing; which made Sir Harry Vane, and that party in the Parliament to which the army adhered, or rather which adhered to the army, to contrive ſome ſpecious way to defer and delay it by ſeeming to conſent to it, rather than to oppoſe the motion. And therefore they appointed a committee of the Houſe of Commons, to meet with ſuch a committee of the Common Council, as they ſhould make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's ſafety and ſecurity during the time of the treaty: which committee being met together,

The behaviour of the city at this time.

They petition for a perſonal treaty.

A committee of Parliament treats with them about it.

gether, that of the Houſe of Commons perplexed the other with many queſtions, "what they meant by "thoſe expreſſions, they uſed in their petition," (and had been the common expreſſions, long uſed both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concerned a treaty), "that his Majeſty might "treat with honour, freedom, and ſafety? what they "intended by thoſe words? and whether the city "would be at the charge in maintaining thoſe guards, "which were to be kept for the ſecurity of the King "during ſuch treaty; and if the King ſhould in that "treaty refuſe to give the Parliament ſatisfaction, how "his perſon ſhould be diſpoſed of?" and many ſuch queſtions, to which they well knew that the committee itſelf could make no anſwer, but that there muſt be another Common Council called, to which they muſt repair for directions. And by this means, and adminiſtering new queſtions at every meeting, much time was ſpent, and the delays they wiſhed could not be avoided. So that notwithſtanding all the city's earneſtneſs that the treaty might be preſently entered upon, it was delayed till the inſurrection in Kent, and the deſigns of the Earl of Holland (to both which they had promiſed another kind of aſſiſtance) were both diſappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was ſtill in the Downs with his fleet, and the gentlemen in Colcheſter defended themſelves reſolutely, and the Scottiſh army was entered the kingdom, all which kept up their courage; inſomuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament conſented, and declared, "that they would enter "into a perſonal treaty with the King for the ſettling "the peace of the kingdom; but that the treaty "ſhould be in the Iſle of Wight, where his Majeſty "ſhould enjoy honour, freedom, and ſafety."

The Parliament declares for a perſonal treaty.

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The city had offered before to the committee upon ſome of the queſtions which had been adminiſtered to them, "that if the treaty might be in London, "they would be at the charge of maintaining thoſe "guards which ſhould be neceſſary for the ſafety and "ſecurity of the King;" and therefore they were very much troubled, that the treaty ſhould be now in the Iſle of Wight, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new inſtances for change of the place, leſt the Parliament might recede from their vote, that there ſhould be a treaty entered upon. So they only renewed their importunity, that all expedition might be uſed; and, in ſpite of all delays, in the beginning of Auguſt a committee was ſent from both Houſes to the King to Cariſbrook caſtle, where he had been cloſe ſhut up about half a year, without being ſuffered to ſpeak with any but ſuch who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

A committee of both Houſes ſent to the King, for the purpoſe in the beginning of Auguſt.

The meſſage the committee delivered was, "that "the Houſes did deſire a treaty with his Majeſty, in "what place of the Iſle of Wight he would appoint, "upon the propoſitions tendered to him at Hampton "Court, and ſuch other propoſitions, as they ſhould "cauſe to be preſented to him; and that his Majeſty "ſhould enjoy honour, freedom, and ſafety to his perſon." The meſſengers, who were one of the Houſe of Peers and two Commoners, were to return within ten days, nobody being very ſtrict in the limitation of time to a day, becauſe the treaty was ſo much the longer kept off, which they hoped ſtill would by ſome accident be prevented.

The ſubſtance of their meſſage to the King.

The King received them very graciouſly, and told them, "they could not believe that any man could de-

" ſire a peace more heartily than himſelf, becauſe no " man ſuffered ſo much by the want of it: that, though " he was without any man to conſult with, and with- " out a ſecretary to write what he ſhould dictate, yet " they ſhould not be put to ſtay long for an anſwer;" which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his preſent condition, and the extreme reſtraint he was under, he ſaid, " he did very cheerfully em- " brace their motion, and accepted a treaty they pro- " miſed ſhould be with honour, freedom, and ſafety; " which he hoped they did really intend ſhould be " performed; for that, in the condition he was in, " he was ſo totally ignorant and uninformed of the " preſent ſtate of all his dominions, that a blind man " was as fit to judge of colours, as he was to treat con- " cerning the peace of the kingdom, except they would " firſt revoke their votes, and orders, by which all " men were prohibited and forbid to come, write, or " ſpeak to him. For the place, he could have wiſhed, " for the expedition that would have reſulted from " thence, that it might have been in or near London, " to the end that the Parliament's reſolution and deter- ' mination might have been ſooner known upon any ' emergent occaſion that might have grown in the " treaty, than it could be at ſuch a diſtance: however, " ſince they had reſolved that it ſhould be in the Iſle " of Wight, he would not except againſt it, but named " the town of Newport for the place of the treaty." He ſaid, " though he deſired all expedition might be " uſed towards the beginning and ending the treaty, " yet he ſhould not think himſelf in any freedom to " treat, except, before the treaty begun, all ſuch per- " ſons might have liberty to repair to him, whoſe ad-

The King's anſwer.

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"vice and aſſiſtance he ſhould ſtand in need of in "the treaty." He ſent a liſt of the names of thoſe his ſervants which he deſired might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindſey, were the chief; all four gentlemen of his Bedchamber, and of his Privy Council. He named likewiſe all the other ſervants, whoſe attendance he deſired in their ſeveral offices. He ſent a liſt of the names of ſeveral Biſhops, and of ſuch of his Chaplains, as he deſired to confer with, and of many common Lawyers, and ſome Civilians, whoſe advice he might have occaſion to uſe, and deſired, "that he "might be in the ſame ſtate of freedom, as he en-"joyed whilſt he had been at Hampton Court."

By the time that the commiſſioners returned from the Iſle of Wight, and delivered this anſwer to the Parliament, news was brought of the defeat of the Scottiſh army, and Cromwell had written to his friends, "what a perpetual ignominy it would be to the Parlia-"ment, that nobody abroad or at home would ever "give credit to them, if they ſhould recede from their "former vote and declaration of no farther addreſſes "to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in "that reſolution." But they had gone too far now to recede, and ſince the firſt motion and petition from the Common Council for a treaty, very many members, who had oppoſed the vote and declaration of no more addreſſes, and from the time that had paſſed, had forborne ever to be preſent in the Parliament, upon the firſt mention of a treaty, flocked again to the Houſe, and advanced that overture; ſo that they were much ſuperior in number to thoſe who endeavoured firſt to obſtruct and delay, and now hoped abſolutely to fruſtrate all that had

been propoſed towards a treaty. And the great victory which had been obtained againſt the Scots, and which they concluded muſt ſpeedily reduce Colcheſter, and put a quick period to all other attempts againſt the Parliament, made them more earneſt and ſolicitous for a treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that confuſion they diſcerned was the purpoſe of the army to bring upon the kingdom: and ſo with the more vigour they preſſed "that ſatisfaction might be given "to the King, in all that he had propoſed in his an-"ſwer;" and, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was declared, "that the vote for no more addreſſes ſhould "ſtand repealed: that the treaty ſhould be at New-"port; and that his Majeſty ſhould be there in the "ſame freedom in which he was at Hampton Court; "that the inſtructions to Colonel Hammond, by which "the King had been in that manner reſtrained, and all "perſons forbid from going to him, ſhould be recalled; "that all thoſe perſons who were named by the King, "ſhould have free liberty to repair to him, and to re-"main with him without being queſtioned, or troubled." And having proceeded thus far, they nominated five lords and ten commoners to be the commiſſioners who ſhould treat with the King, and who were enjoined to prepare all things to be in readineſs for the treaty with all poſſible expedition; but Sir Harry Vane, being one of thoſe commiſſioners, uſed all his arts to obſtruct and delay it, in hope that Cromwell would diſpatch his affairs in Scotland time enough to return, and to uſe more effectual and powerful arguments againſt it, than he was furniſhed withal.

The vote of no more addreſſes repealed, and the treaty to be at Newport.

All theſe occurrences were very well known to Cromwell, and were the motives which perſuaded him to believe, that his preſence at the Parliament was ſo neceſ-

ſary

ſary to ſuppreſs the Preſbyterians, who ceaſed not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevailed with to ſtay and finiſh that only work of difficulty that remained to be done, which was the reducing Pontefract caſtle; but left Lambert to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of Rainſborough, who had loſt his life by that garriſon, with ſome circumſtances which deſerve to be remembered; as in truth all that adventure in the taking and defending that place, ſhould be preſerved by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the perſons who were engaged in it.

An account of the taking of Pontefract caſtle for the King.

When the firſt war had been brought to an end by the reduction of all places, and perſons, which had held for the King, and all men's hopes had been rendered deſperate, by the impriſonment of his Majeſty in the Iſle of Wight, thoſe officers and gentlemen who had ſerved, whilſt there was any ſervice, betook themſelves generally to the habitations they had in the ſeveral counties; where they lived quietly and privately, under the inſolence of thoſe neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their conditions, ſubmitted to them. When the Parliament had finiſhed the war, they reduced and ſlighted moſt of the inland garriſons, the maintenance whereof was very chargeable: yet by the intereſt of ſome perſon who commanded it, or out of the conſideration of the ſtrength and importance of the place, they kept ſtill a garriſon in Pontefract caſtle, a noble royalty and palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's jointure. The ſituation in itſelf was very ſtrong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the houſe very large, with all offices ſuitable to a princely ſeat, and though built very near the top of a hill, ſo that it had the proſpect of a great part of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, and of Lincoln-

ſhire, and Nottinghamſhire, yet it was plentifully ſupplied with water. Colonel Cotterell, the Governor of this caſtle, exerciſed a very ſevere juriſdiction over his neighbours of thoſe parts; which were inhabited by many gentlemen, and ſoldiers, who had ſerved the King throughout the war, and who were known to retain their old affections, though they lived quietly under the preſent government. Upon the leaſt jealouſy or humour, theſe men were frequently ſent for, reproached, and ſometimes impriſoned by the Governor in his garriſon; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appeared ſome hopes that the Scots would raiſe an army for the relief and releaſe of the King, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in his way for Scotland, had viſited and conferred with ſome of his old friends and countrymen, who now lived quietly within ſome diſtance of Pontefract, who informed him of that garriſon, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the aſſurance he had of the reſolution of the principal perſons of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they had invited him to join with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "that, when it ſhould appear that an army was "raiſed in Scotland upon that account, which muſt draw "down the Parliament's army into the other northern "counties, and that there ſhould be riſings in other "parts of the kingdom," (which the general indiſpoſition and diſcontent, beſides ſome particular deſigns, made like to fall out), "that then thoſe gentlemen "ſhould endeavour the ſurpriſe of that caſtle, and "after they had made themſelves ſtrong in it, and "furniſhed it with proviſions to endure ſome reſtraint, "they ſhould draw as good a body to them as thoſe "countries would yield:" and having thus adjuſted

that

that deſign, they ſettled ſuch a way of correſpondence with Sir Marmaduke, that they frequently gave him an account, and received his directions for their proceeding. In this diſpoſition they continued quiet, as they had always been; and the Governor of the caſtle lived towards them with leſs jealouſy, and more humanity, than he had been accuſtomed to.

There was one Colonel Morrice, who, being a very young man, had, in the beginning of the war, been an officer in ſome regiments of the King's; and, out of the folly and impatience of his youth, had quitted that ſervice, and engaged himſelf in the Parliament army with ſome circumſtances not very commendable; and by the clearneſs of his courage, and pleaſantneſs of his humour, made himſelf not only very acceptable, but was preferred to the command of a colonel, and performed many notable ſervices for them, being a ſtout and bold undertaker in attempts of the greateſt danger; wherein he had uſually ſucceſs. After the new modelling of the army, and the introducing of a ſtricter diſcipline, his life of great licence kept not his reputation with the new officers; and being a free ſpeaker and cenſurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new army, but with many profeſſions of kindneſs, and reſpect to his eminent courage, which they would find ſome occaſion to employ, and reward. He was a gentleman of a competent eſtate in thoſe parts in Yorkſhire; and as he had grown elder, he had heartily deteſted himſelf for having quitted the King's ſervice, and had reſolved to take ſome ſeaſonable opportunity to wipe off that blemiſh by a ſervice that would redeem him; and ſo was not troubled to be ſet aſide by the new General, but betook himſelf to his eſtate; enjoyed his old humour,

which was cheerful and pleaſant; and made himſelf moſt acceptable to thoſe who were moſt truſted by the Parliament; who thought that they had diſmiſſed one of the beſt officers they had, and were ſorry for it.

He now, as a country gentleman, frequented the fairs and markets, and converſed with equal freedom with all his neighbours, of what party ſoever they had been, and renewed the friendſhip he had formerly held with ſome of thoſe gentlemen who had ſerved the King. But no friendſhip was ſo dear to him, as that of the Governor of Pontefract caſtle, who loved him above all men, and delighted ſo much in his company, that he got him to be with him ſometimes a week and more at a time in the caſtle, when they always lay together in one bed. He declared to one of thoſe gentlemen, who were united together to make that attempt, "that he "would ſurpriſe that caſtle, whenever they ſhould think "the ſeaſon ripe for it;" and that gentleman, who knew him very well, believed him ſo entirely, that he told his companions, "that they ſhould not trouble "themſelves with contriving the means to ſurpriſe "the place; which, by truſting too many, would be "liable to diſcovery; but that he would take that "charge upon himſelf, by a way they need not en-"quire into; which he aſſured them ſhould not fail:" and they all very willingly acquieſced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. Morrice was more frequently with the Governor, who never thought himſelf well without him; and always told him "he muſt have a great "care of his garriſon, that he had none but faithful men "in the caſtle; for that he was confident there were "ſome men who lived not far off, and who many times

"came

" came to viſit him, had ſome deſign upon the place;" and would then in confidence name many perſons to him, ſome whereof were thoſe very men with whom he communicated, and others were men of another temper, and were moſt devoted to the Parliament, all his particular friends and companions; " but that he " ſhould not be troubled; for he had a falſe brother " amongſt them, from whom he was ſure to have " ſeaſonable advertiſement;" and promiſed him, " that " he would, within few hours notice, bring him at " any time forty or fifty good men into the caſtle to " reinforce his garriſon, when there ſhould be occa- " ſion;" and he would ſhew him the liſt of ſuch men, as would be always ready, and would ſometimes bring ſome of thoſe men with him, and tell the Governor before them, " that thoſe were in the liſt he had " given him of the honeſt fellows, who would ſtick " to him when there ſhould be need;" and others would accidentally tell the Governor, " that they had " liſted themſelves with Colonel Morrice to come to " the caſtle, whenever he ſhould call or ſend to them." And all theſe men thus liſted, were fellows very notorious for the bitterneſs and malice which they had always againſt the King, not one of which he ever intended to make uſe of.

He made himſelf very familiar with all the ſoldiers in the caſtle, and uſed to play and drink with them; and, when he lay there, would often riſe in the night, and viſit the guards; and by that means would ſometimes make the Governor diſmiſs and diſcharge a ſoldier whom he did not like, under pretence, " that " he found him always aſleep," or ſome other fault which was not to be examined; and then he would commend ſome other to him as very fit to be truſted

and

and relied upon; and by this means he had very much power in the garriſon. The Governor received ſeveral letters from his friends in the Parliament, and in the country, "that he ſhould take care of Colonel "Morrice, who reſolved to betray him;" and informed him, "that he had been in ſuch and ſuch com-"pany of men, who were generally eſteemed moſt "malignant, and had great intrigues with them;" all which was well known to the Governor; for the other was never in any of that company, though with all the ſhew of ſecrecy, in the night, or in places remote from any houſe, but he always told the Governor of it, and of many particular paſſages in thoſe meetings; ſo that when theſe letters came to him, he ſhewed them ſtill to the other; and then both of them laughed at the intelligence; after which Morrice frequently called for his horſe, and went home to his houſe, telling his friend, "that though he had, he knew, no miſtruſt "of his friendſhip, and knew him too well to think "him capable of ſuch baſeneſs, yet he ought not for "his own ſake be thought to ſlight the information; "which would make his friends the leſs careful of him: "that they had reaſon to give him warning of thoſe "meetings, which, if he had not known himſelf, had "been very worthy of his ſuſpicion; therefore he "would forbear coming to the caſtle again, till this "jealouſy of his friends ſhould be over; who would "know of this, and be ſatisfied with it:" and no power of the Governor could prevail with him, at ſuch times, to ſtay; but he would be gone, and ſtay away till he was, after ſome time, ſent for again with great importunity, the Governor deſiring his counſel and aſſiſtance as much as his company.

It fell out, as it uſually doth in affairs of that nature, when

when many men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be throughly ripe. The buſineſs of the fleet, and in Kent, and other places, and the daily alarms from Scotland, as if that army had been entering the kingdom, made the gentlemen who were engaged for this enterpriſe imagine that they deferred it too long, and that though they had received no orders from Sir Marmaduke Langdale, which they were to expect, yet they had been ſent, and miſcarried. Hereupon they called upon the gentleman who had undertaken, and he upon Morrice, for the execution of the deſign. The time agreed upon was ſuch a night, when the ſurpriſers were to be ready upon ſuch a part of the wall, and to have ladders to mount in two places, where two ſoldiers were to be appointed for ſentinels who were privy to the attempt. Morrice was in the caſtle, and in bed with the Governor, and, according to his cuſtom, roſe about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without made the ſign agreed upon, and were anſwered by one of the ſentinels from the wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their ladders. By ſome accident, the other ſentinel who was deſigned was not upon the other part of the wall; but when the ladder was mounted there, the ſentinel called out; and finding that there were men under the wall, run towards the court of guard to call for help; which gave an alarm to the garriſon: ſo that, for that time, the deſign was diſappointed. But, ſhortly after, Morrice and ſome of the ſame gentlemen ſurpriſed the caſtle, under the diſguiſe of countrymen coming in with carts of proviſion; and preſently ſeized on and maſtered the main guard, and made way for their friends, horſe and foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went

to

to the Governor's chamber, whom they found in his bed, and told him "the caſtle was ſurpriſed, and him-"ſelf a priſoner." He betook himſelf to his arms for his defence, but quickly found that his friend had betrayed it, and the other gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warned, his defence was to no purpoſe, yet he received ſome wounds. Morrice afterwards comforted him with aſſurance "of good uſage, "and that he would procure his pardon from the "King for his rebellion."

They put the garriſon in good order, and ſo many came to them from Yorkſhire, Nottingham, and Lincoln, that they could not in a ſhort time be reſtrained, and had leiſure to fetch in all ſorts of proviſions for their ſupport, and to make and renew ſuch fortifications as might be neceſſary for their defence. From Nottingham there came Sir John Digby, Sir Hugh Cartwright, and a ſon and nephew of his, who had been good officers in the army, with many ſoldiers who had been under their command; many other gentlemen of the three counties were preſent, and deſerve to have their names recorded, ſince it was an action throughout of great courage and conduct.

Cromwell's marching towards the Scots with the neglect of theſe men after their firſt appearance, and only appointing ſome county troops to incloſe them from increaſing their ſtrength, gave them great opportunity to grow; ſo that driving thoſe troops to a greater diſtance, they drew contribution from all the parts about them, and made incurſions much farther, and rendered themſelves ſo terrible, that, as was ſaid before, after the Scots' defeat, thoſe of Yorkſhire ſent very earneſtly to Cromwell, "that he would make it the "buſineſs of his army to reduce Pontefract." But he, reſolving

reſolving upon his Scottiſh expedition, thought it enough to ſend Rainſborough to perform that ſervice, with a regiment of horſe, and one or two of foot, belonging to the army; which, with a conjunction of the country forces under the ſame command, he doubted not would be ſufficient to perform a greater work. As ſoon as the caſtle had been reduced, they who were poſſeſſed of it were very willing to be under the command of Morrice; who declared he would not accept the charge, nor be Governor of the place, knowing well what jealouſies he might be liable to, at leaſt upon any change of fortune, but under the direction of Sir John Digby; who was Colonel General of thoſe parts, and was a man rather cordial in the ſervice, than equal to the command; which made him refer all things ſtill to the counſel and conduct of thoſe officers who were under him; by whoſe activity, as much was done as could be expected from ſuch a knot of reſolute perſons.

Part of the garriſon's attempt upon Rainſborough.

The total defeat of the Scottiſh army being now generally known, and that their friends in all other places were defeated, they in the caſtle well knew what they were preſently to expect, and that they ſhould be ſhortly ſhut up from making farther excurſions. They heard that Rainſborough was upon his march towards them, and had already ſent ſome troops to be quartered near them, himſelf yet keeping his head quarters at Doncaſter, ten miles from the caſtle. They reſolved, whilſt they yet enjoyed this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been informed, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale, (whom they ſtill called their General), after the overthrow of the Scottiſh army, had been taken priſoner, and remained in Nottingham caſtle, under a moſt ſtrict cuſtody, as a man the Parliament declared,

declared, "they would make an example of their juſtice." A party of about twenty horſe, but picked and choice men, went out of the caſtle, in the beginning of the night, with a reſolution to take Rainſborough priſoner, and thereby to ranſom their General. They were all good guides, and underſtood the ways, private and public, very exactly; and went ſo far, that about the break of day or a little after, in the end of Auguſt, they put themſelves into the common road that led from York; by which ways the guards expected no enemy; and ſo ſlightly aſked them "whence they came?" who negligently anſwered; and aſked again, "where their "General was?" ſaying, "they had a letter for him "from Cromwell." They ſent one to ſhew them where the General was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the beſt inn of the town. And when the gate of the inn was opened to them, three of them only entered into the inn, the other rode to the other end of the town to the bridge, over which they were to paſs towards Pontefract; where they expected and did find a guard of horſe and foot, with whom they entertained themſelves in diſcourſe, ſaying, "that they ſtayed for their officer, who went "only in to ſpeak with the General;" and called for ſome drink. The guards making no queſtion of their being friends, ſent for drink, and talked negligently with them of news; and, it being broad day, ſome of the horſe alighted, and the foot went to the court of guard, conceiving that morning's work to be over. They who went into the inn, where nobody was awake but the fellow who opened the gate, aſked in which chamber the General (for ſo all the ſoldiers called Rainſborough) lay; and the fellow ſhewing them from below the chamber door, two of them went up, and the other

other ſtayed below, and held the horſes, and talked with the ſoldier who had walked with them from the guard. The two who went up, opened the chamber door, found Rainſborough in his bed, but awaked with the little noiſe they had made. They told him in ſhort, "that he was their priſoner, and that it was in his "power to chooſe whether he would be preſently "killed," (for which work he ſaw they were very well prepared), "or quietly, without making reſiſtance, or "delay, to put on his clothes and be mounted upon a "horſe, that was ready below for him, and accompany "them to Pontefract." The preſent danger awakened him out of the amazement he was in, ſo that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haſte that was neceſſary to put on his clothes. One of them took his ſword, and ſo they led him down ſtairs. He that held the horſes, had ſent the ſoldier away to thoſe who were gone before, to ſpeak to them to get ſome drink, and any thing elſe that could be made ready in the houſe, againſt they came. When Rainſborough came into the ſtreet, which he expected to find full of horſe, and ſaw only one man, who held the others' horſes, and preſently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to ſtruggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they ſaw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their ſwords, and, leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their horſes, and rode towards their fellows, before any in the inn could be ready to follow them. When thoſe at the bridge ſaw their companions coming, which was their ſign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turned upon the guard, and made them fly in diſtraction; ſo that the way was clear and free; and though they miſſed carrying

ing home the prize for which they had made ſo luſty an adventure, they joined together, and marched, with the expedition that was neceſſary, a ſhorter way than they had come, to their garriſon; leaving the town and ſoldiers behind in ſuch a conſternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themſelves, which way they were to purſue an enemy they had not ſeen. The gallant party came ſafe home without the leaſt damage to horſe or man, hoping to make ſome other attempt more ſucceſsfully, by which they might redeem Sir Marmaduke Langdale. There was not an officer in the army whom Cromwell would not as willingly have loſt as this man; who was bold and barbarous to his wiſh, and fit to be entruſted in the moſt deſperate intereſt, and was the man whom that party always intended to commit the maritime affairs to, when it ſhould be time to diſmiſs the Earl of Warwick; he having been bred in that element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune ſpoken of in the beginning of the ſummer.

And now to finiſh this buſineſs of Pontefract altogether, which laſted near to the end of this year, when Lambert came to this charge, (inſtructed by Cromwell to take full vengeance for the loſs of Rainſborough, to whoſe ghoſt he deſigned an ample ſacrifice), and kept what body of men he thought fit for that purpoſe, he reduced them in a ſhort time within their own circuit, making good works round about the caſtle, that they might at laſt yield to hunger, if nothing elſe would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly ſuffer themſelves to be cooped up without bold and frequent ſallies, in which

which many of the beſiegers, as well as the others, loſt their lives. They diſcovered many of the country who held correſpondence with, and gave intelligence to the caſtle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two divines, and ſome women of note, friends and allies to the beſieged. After frequent mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of relief, they were content to offer to treat for the delivery of the caſtle, if they might have honourable conditions; if not, they ſent word, "that they had proviſion yet for a good "time; that they durſt die, and would ſell their lives "at as dear a price as they could." Lambert anſwered, that he knew "they were gallant men, and that he de-"ſired to preſerve as many of them, as was in his "power to do; but he muſt require ſix of them to be "given up to him, whoſe lives he could not ſave; "which he was ſorry for, ſince they were brave men; "but his hands were bound." The ſix excepted by him were Colonel Morrice, and five more whoſe names he found to have been amongſt thoſe who were in the party that had deſtroyed Rainſborough; which was an enterpriſe no brave enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did Lambert deſire it, but Cromwell had enjoined it him: all the reſt he "was content to re-"leaſe, that they might return to their houſes, and "apply themſelves to the Parliament for their compo-"ſitions, towards which he would do them all the "good offices he could." They from within acknowledged "his civility in that particular, and would be "glad to embrace it, but they would never be guilty of "ſo baſe a thing, as to deliver up any of their com-"panions;" and therefore they deſired "they might have "ſix days allowed them, that thoſe ſix might do the "beſt they could to deliver themſelves; in which it

"ſhould be lawful for the reſt to aſſiſt them;" to which Lambert generouſly conſented, "ſo that the "reſt would ſurrender at the end of that time;" which was agreed to. Upon the firſt day the garriſon appeared twice or thrice, as if they were reſolved to make a ſally, but retired every time without charging; but the ſecond day they made a very ſtrong and briſk ſally upon another place than where they had appeared the day before, and beat the enemy from their poſt, with the loſs of men on both ſides; and though the party of the caſtle was beaten back, two of the ſix (whereof Morrice was one) made their eſcape, the other four being forced to retire with the reſt. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the night of the fourth day, they made another attempt ſo proſperouſly, that two of the other four likewiſe eſcaped: and the next day they made great ſhews of joy, and ſent Lambert word, "that their ſix friends were gone," (though there were two ſtill remaining,) "and therefore "they would be ready the next day to ſurrender."

The other two thought it to no purpoſe to make another attempt, but deviſed another way to ſecure themſelves, with a leſs dangerous aſſiſtance from their friends, who had loſt ſome of their own lives in the two former ſallies to ſave theirs. The buildings of the caſtle were very large and ſpacious, and there were great ſtore of waſte ſtones from ſome walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be leaſt viſited, where they walled up their two friends in ſuch a manner that they had air to ſuſtain them, and victual enough to feed them a month, in which time they hoped they might be able to eſcape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they opened their ports, and after Lambert had cauſed a ſtrict inquiſition

Pontefract delivered up to Lambert.

ſition to be made for thoſe ſix, none of which he did believe had in truth eſcaped, and was ſatisfied that none of them were amongſt thoſe who were come out, he received the reſt very civilly, and obſerved his promiſe made to them very punctually, and did not ſeem ſorry that the ſix gallant men (as he called them) were eſcaped.

And now they heard, which very much relieved their broken ſpirits, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale had made an eſcape out of the caſtle of Nottingham; who ſhortly after tranſported himſelf beyond the ſeas. Lambert preſently took care ſo to diſmantle the caſtle, that there ſhould be no more uſe of it for a garriſon, leaving the vaſt ruins ſtill ſtanding; and then drew off all his troops to new quarters; ſo that, within ten days after the ſurrender, the two, who were left walled up, threw down their incloſure, and ſecurely provided for themſelves. Sir John Digby lived many years after the King's return, and was often with his Majeſty. Poor Morrice was afterwards taken in Lancaſhire, and happened to be put to death in the ſame place where he had committed a fault againſt the King, and where he firſt performed a great ſervice to the Parliament.

The condition of the Prince and the Duke of York at the Hague, and the factions among their followers.

In this deſperate condition, that is before deſcribed, ſtood the King's affairs when the Prince was at the Hague, his fleet already mutinying for pay, his own family factious and in neceſſity, and that of his brother the Duke of York full of intrigues and deſigns, between the reſtleſs unquiet ſpirit of Bamfield, and the ambitious and as unquiet humour of Sir John Berkley. The Council, which was not numerous, (for the Prince had not authority to add any to thoſe who were his father's counſellors), wanted not unity in itſelf, ſo much as ſubmiſſion and reſpect from others, which had been

loſt to thoſe who were in the fleet, and the prejudice to thoſe ſtill remained, and ſo abated much of the reverence which moſt men were willing to pay to the two who came laſt. And the great animoſity which Prince Rupert had againſt the Lord Colepepper infinitely diſturbed the counſels, and perplexed the Lord Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But Colepepper had ſome paſſions and infirmities, which no friends could reſtrain; and though Prince Rupert was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be adviſed by him, yet his prejudice to Colepepper was ſo rooted in him, and that prejudice ſo induſtriouſly cultivated by Herbert the Attorney General, who had the abſolute aſcendant over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the world that would not be governed by him, that every meeting in council was full of bitterneſs and ſharpneſs between them.

One day the Council met (as it uſed to do when they did not attend the Prince of Wales at his lodgings) at the Lord Treaſurer's lodging, (he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one houſe), about giving direction for the ſale of ſome goods which had been taken at ſea, for the raiſing of money toward the payment of the fleet. In ſuch ſervices merchants, and other proper perſons, were always neceſſary to be truſted. Prince Rupert propoſed, "that one Sir Robert Walſh" (a perſon too well known to be truſted) "might be em-" ployed in that affair:" it was to ſell a ſhip of ſugar. No man who was preſent would ever have conſented that he ſhould have been employed; but the Lord Colepepper ſpoke againſt him with ſome warmth, ſo that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince Rupert, who had propoſed him. Upon which, he aſk-

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ing "what exceptions there were to Sir Robert Walſh, "why he might not be fit for it," Colepepper anſwered with ſome quickneſs, "that he was a known cheat;" which, though notoriouſly true, the Prince ſeemed to take very ill; and ſaid, "he was his friend, and a gen- "tleman; and if he ſhould come to hear of what had "been ſaid, he knew not how the Lord Colepepper "could avoid fighting with him." Colepepper, whoſe courage no man doubted, preſently replied, "that he "would not fight with Walſh, but he would fight "with his Highneſs;" to which the Prince anſwered very quietly, "that it was well;" and the Council roſe in great perplexity.

Prince Rupert went out of the houſe, and the Chancellor led the Lord Colepepper into the garden, hoping that he ſhould ſo far have prevailed with him, as to have made him ſenſible of the exceſs he had committed, and to have perſuaded him preſently to repair to the Prince, and to aſk his pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but ſeemed to think only of making good what he had ſo imprudently ſaid. Prince Rupert quickly informed his confident the Attorney General of all that had paſſed; who was the unfitteſt man living to be truſted with ſuch a ſecret, having always about him ſtore of oil to throw upon ſuch fire. He ſoon found means to make it known to the Prince, who preſently ſent for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be informed of the whole matter; and when he underſtood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him "to let Colepepper know, "that he ought to make a ſubmiſſion to Prince Ru- "pert; without which worſe would fall out."

He went firſt to Prince Rupert, that he might pacify

him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he ſo far prevailed with his Highneſs, who would have been more choleric if he had had leſs right of his ſide, that he was willing to receive a ſubmiſſion; and promiſed, "that the other ſhould receive no affront in "the mean time." But he found more difficulty on the other ſide, the Lord Colepepper, continuing ſtill in rage, thought the provocation was ſo great, that he ought to be excuſed for the reply, and that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as he the other. But after ſome days recollection, finding nobody with whom he converſed of his mind, and underſtanding how much the Prince was diſpleaſed, and that he expected he ſhould aſk Prince Rupert pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no ſecurity from his quality and function, he reſolved to do what he ought to have done at firſt; and ſo he went with the Chancellor to Prince Rupert's lodging; where he behaved himſelf very well; and the Prince received him with all the grace could be expected; ſo that ſo ill a buſineſs ſeemed to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worſt was to come: the Attorney General had done all he could to diſſuade that Prince from accepting ſo ſmall and ſo private a ſatisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed Sir Robert Walſh, who had been informed of all that had paſſed at the Council concerning himſelf, to take his own revenge; in which many men thought, that he was aſſured Prince Rupert would not be offended. And the next morning after his Highneſs had received ſatisfaction, as the Lord Colepepper was walking to the Council without a ſword, Walſh, coming to him, ſeemed quietly to expoſtulate with him, for having mentioned him ſo unkindly. To the which the other anſwered

ſwered, "that he would give him ſatisfaction in any "way he would require; though he ought not to be "called in queſtion for any thing he had ſaid in that "place." On a ſudden, whilſt they were in this calm diſcourſe, Walſh ſtruck him with all his force one blow in the face with his fiſt; and then ſtepped back, and drew his ſword; but ſeeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord Colepepper, with his noſe and face all bloody, went back to his chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the clock in the morning, in the ſight of the town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately ſent to the States to demand juſtice; and they, according to their method and ſlow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, cauſed Walſh to be ſummoned, and after ſo many days, for want of appearance, he was by the ſound of a bell publickly baniſhed from the Hague; and ſo he made his reſidence in Amſterdam, or what other place he pleaſed. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for ſo ruffianly a tranſgreſſion; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy buſineſs expoſed the Prince himſelf, as well as his Council, to more diſadvantage, and leſs reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The improvidence that had been uſed in the fleet, beſides its unactivity, by the diſmiſſing ſo many great prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither money to pay the ſeamen, who were not modeſt in requiring it, nor to new victual the ſhips, which was as important; ſince it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that they could not remain long in the ſtation where they were for the preſent, and the extreme licence which all men

The ill condition of the Prince's fleet in Holland.

took to cenſure and reproach that improvidence, diſturbed all counſels, and made converſation itſelf very uneaſy. Nor was it poſſible to ſuppreſs that licence; every man believing that his particular neceſſities, with which all men abounded, might eaſily have been relieved, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill huſbandry; which they therefore called treachery and corruption. It cannot be denied but there was ſo great a treaſure taken, which turned to no account, and ſo much more might have been taken, if the ſeveral ſhips had been applied to that end, that a full proviſion might have been made, both for the ſupport of the fleet, and ſupply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the ſame had been well managed; and could have been depoſited in ſome ſecure place, till all might have been ſold at good markets. And nobody was ſatisfied with the reaſons which were given for the diſcharging and diſmiſſing ſo many ſhips to gratify the city of London, and the Preſbyterian party throughout the kingdom. For, beſides that the value of what was ſo given away and loſt, was generally believed to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, thoſe bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that people; whoſe affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their ſharp ſufferings, and their inſupportable loſſes; the obſtruction and deſtruction of their trade, and the ſeizing upon their eſtates, being, at that time, thought by many the moſt proper application to the city of London, and the beſt arguments to make them in love with peace, and to extort it from them in whoſe power it was to give it. And if the fleet had applied itſelf to that, and viſited all thoſe maritime parts which were in counties well affected, and

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where ſome places had declared for the King, (as Scarborough in Yorkſhire did), if it had not been poſſible to have ſet the King at liberty in the Iſle of Wight, or to have relieved Colcheſter, (both which many men believed, how unſkilfully ſoever, to be practicable), it would have ſpent the time much more advantageouſly and honourably than it did.

But let the ill conſequence be never ſo great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been diſcovered by the examination and inquiſition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was ſo fully poſſeſſed of the purpoſe and the power of the Scots to do the King's buſineſs, before the inſurrections in the ſeveral parts in England, and the revolt of the fleet appeared, that ſhe did not enough weigh the good uſe that might have been made of thoſe when they did happen, but kept her mind then ſo fixed upon Scotland, as the ſole foundation of the King's hopes, that ſhe looked upon the benefit of the fleet's returning to their allegiance, only as an opportunity offered by Providence to tranſport the Prince with ſecurity thither. And her inſtructions to thoſe ſhe truſted about the Prince were ſo poſitive, "that they ſhould not give conſent to any "thing that might divert or delay that expedition," that, if the Earl of Lautherdale had been arrived when the Prince came to the fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have tranſported the Prince into Scotland, what other conveniences ſoever, preferable to that, had offered themſelves. And the very next day after that lord's coming to the Prince in the Downs, his injunctions and behaviour were ſo imperious for the Prince's preſent departure, that nothing but a direct mutiny among the ſeamen prevented it. His Highneſs's

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own ſhip was under ſail for Holland, that he might from thence have proſecuted his other voyage: nor would he at that time have taken Holland in his way, if there had been any quantity of proviſion in the fleet for ſuch a peregrination. This expedition for Scotland was the more grievous to all men, becauſe it was evident that the Prince himſelf was much more inclined to have purſued other occaſions which were offered, and only reſigned himſelf implicitly to the pleaſure of his mother.

The Earl of Warwick with his fleet comes upon the coaſt of Holland.

The preſent ill condition of the fleet, and the unſteady humour of the common ſeamen was the more notorious, and unſeaſonable, by the Earl of Warwick's coming with another fleet from the Parliament upon the coaſt of Holland, within few days after the Prince came to the Hague, and anchoring within view of the King's fleet. And it is probable he would have made ſome hoſtile attempt upon it, well knowing that many officers and ſeamen were on ſhore, if the States had not, in the very inſtant, ſent ſome of their ſhips of war to preſerve the peace in their port. However, according to the inſolence of his maſters, and of moſt of thoſe employed by them, the Earl ſent a ſummons of a ſtrange nature to the King's ſhips, in which he took notice, "that a fleet of ſhips, which were part of the navy "royal of the kingdom of England, was then riding at "anchor off Helvoetſluys, and bearing a ſtandard: that "he did therefore, by the Parliament's authority, by "which he was conſtituted Lord High Admiral of "England, require the Admiral, or commander in "chief of that fleet, to take down the ſtandard; and "the captains, and mariners belonging to the ſhips, to "render themſelves and the ſhips to him, as High "Admiral of England, and for the uſe of the King

"and

" and Parliament: and he did, by the like authority, " offer an indemnity to all thoſe who ſhould ſubmit to " him."

After which ſummons, though received by the Lord Willoughby, who remained on board the fleet in the command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impreſſion upon the officers, nor viſibly, at that time, upon the common men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in ſo near a neighbourhood, he did find means by private inſinuations, and by ſending many of his ſeamen on ſhore at Helvoetſluys, (where they entered into converſation with their old companions), ſo to work upon and corrupt many of the ſeamen, that it afterwards appeared many were debauched; ſome whereof went on board his ſhips, others ſtayed to do more miſchief. But that ill neighbourhood continued not long; for the ſeaſon of the year, and the winds which uſually rage on that coaſt in the month of September, removed him from that ſtation, and carried him back to the Downs to attend new orders.

All theſe diſturbances were attended with a worſe, which fell out at the ſame time, and that was the ſickneſs of the Prince; who, after ſome days indiſpoſition, appeared to have the ſmall pox; which almoſt diſtracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious life: and therefore the conſternation was very univerſal whilſt that was thought in danger. But, by the goodneſs and mercy of God, he recovered in few days the peril of that diſtemper; and, within a month, was reſtored to ſo perfect health, that he was able to take an account himſelf of his melancholic and perplexed affairs.

The Prince of Wales has the ſmall pox.

There were two points which were chiefly to be conſidered,

ſidered, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the conſultation and reſolution; the firſt, how to make proviſion to pay and victual the fleet, and to compoſe the mutinous ſpirits of the ſeamen; who paid no reverence to their officers, inſomuch as, in the ſhort ſtay which the Earl of Warwick had made before Helvoetſluys, as hath been ſaid, many of the ſeamen had gone over to him, and the Conſtant Warwick, a frigate of the beſt account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's fleet, or ſuffered itſelf willingly to be taken, and carried away with the reſt into England. The other was, what he ſhould do with the fleet, when it was both paid and victualled.

Towards the firſt, there were ſome ſhips brought in with the fleet, laden with ſeveral merchandize of value, that, if they could be ſold for the true worth, would amount to a ſum ſufficient to pay the ſeamen their wages, and to put in proviſions enough to ſerve four months; and there were many merchants from London, who were deſirous to buy their own goods, which had been taken from them; and others had commiſſions from thence to buy the reſt. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other market, but muſt be ſold in the place where they were; and therefore they were reſolved to have very good [illegible]yworths. And there were many debts claimed, which the Prince had promiſed, whilſt he was in the river, ſhould be paid out of the firſt money that ſhould be raiſed upon the ſale of ſuch and ſuch ſhips: particularly, the Prince believed that the Counteſs of Carliſle, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, had pawned her necklace of pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which ſhe had totally diſburſed in ſupplying officers, and making other proviſions for the expedition of the Earl of Holland, (which ſum of

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fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promiſed the Lord Piercy her brother, who was a very importunate ſolicitor), ſhould be paid upon the ſale of a ſhip that was laden with ſugar, and was then conceived to be worth above ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds. Others had the like engagements upon other ſhips: ſo that when money was to be raiſed upon the ſale of merchandize, they who had ſuch engagements, would be themſelves intruſted, or nominate thoſe who ſhould be, to make the bargain with purchaſers, to the end that they might be ſure to receive what they claimed, out of the firſt monies that ſhould be raiſed. By this means, double the value was delivered, to ſatisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worſe than all this, the Prince of Orange advertiſed the Prince, that ſome queſtions had been ſtarted in the States, "what they ſhould do, if "the Parliament of England (which had now a very "dreadful name) ſhould ſend over to them to demand "the reſtitution of thoſe merchants' good, which had "been unjuſtly taken in the Downs, and in the river of "Thames, and had been brought into their ports, and "were offered to ſale there, againſt the obligation of "that amity which had been obſerved between the two "nations, during the late war? What anſwer they ſhould "be able to make, or how they could refuſe to permit "the owners of thoſe goods to make their arreſts, "and to ſue in their Admiralty for the ſame? Which "firſt proceſs would ſtop the preſent ſale of whatever "others pretended a title to, till the right ſhould be de-"termined." The Prince of Orange ſaid, "that ſuch "queſtions uſed not to be ſtarted there without de-"ſign;" and therefore adviſed the Prince "to loſe no "time in making complete ſales of all that was to be "ſold;

" ſold; to the end that they who were engaged in the " purchaſe, might likewiſe be engaged in the defence " of it." Upon this ground, as well as the others which have been mentioned, haſty bargains were made with all who deſired to buy, and who would not buy except they were ſure to be good gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wiſdom of any who were upon the place, with no more authority than they had. Mr. Long, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been poſſeſſed of the office of receiving and paying all monies, whilſt the Prince was in the fleet, and ſo could not well be removed from it when he came into Holland: though he was thought to love money too well, yet nobody who loved it leſs, would at that time have ſubmitted to the employment, which expoſed him to the importunity and inſolence of all neceſſitous perſons, when he could ſatisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice and diſadvantage.

As ſoon as the money was raiſed, it was ſent to the fleet to pay the ſeamen; and the Prince made a journey to the fleet to ſee, and keep up the ſpirits of the ſeamen, who were very mutinous, not without the infuſions of ſome who did not deſire they ſhould be too well pleaſed with their officers. The Lord Willoughby ſtayed on board purely out of duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the people over whom he was to command, who had yet more reſpect for him than for any body elſe. Sir William Batten likewiſe remained with them, not knowing well how to refuſe it, though he had too much reaſon to be weary of his province, the ſeamen having contracted an implacable jealouſy and malice againſt him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had

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an impatient deſire to make his peace, and to live in his own country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; againſt whom he never after took employment.

The other point to be reſolved was yet more difficult, "what ſhould be done with the fleet, and who ſhould "command it?" and though the advertiſement the Prince of Orange had given his Royal Highneſs, of the queſtion ſtarted in the States, concerned only the merchants' ſhips, which were made prize, yet it was very eaſy to diſcern the logic of that queſtion would extend as well, and be applied to thoſe of the royal navy, as to merchants' ſhips. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the ſhips of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houſes, which kept them from being united in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more neceſſary than that they ſhould be gone out of the ports of thoſe Provinces, and that the States wiſhed it exceedingly.

Whilſt Bamfield was about the perſon of the Duke of York, he had infuſed into him a marvellous deſire to be poſſeſſed of the government of the fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither ſafe for his Highneſs, nor for his father's ſervice, that he ſhould be embarked in it: and Bamfield, by an eſpecial command from the King, who had diſcovered more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not ſuffered to come any more near the perſon of the Duke. So he returned into England; where he was never called in queſtion for ſtealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of age, was ſo far from deſiring to be with the fleet, that, when there was once a propoſition, upon occaſion

caſion of a ſudden mutiny amongſt the ſeamen, "that "he ſhould go to Helvoetſluys, to appear amongſt "them," who profeſſed great duty to his Highneſs, he was ſo offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had ſtill ſome ſervant about him who took pains to perſuade him, "that the Council had inclined the Prince "to that deſignation, out of ill will to his Highneſs, and "that the ſhips might deliver him up to the Parlia-"ment." So unpleaſant and uncomfortable a province had thoſe perſons, who, being of the King's Council, ſerved both with great fidelity; every body who was unſatisfied (and nobody was ſatisfied) aſperſing them, or ſome of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in ſuch a manner as touched the honour of the reſt, and moſt reflected upon the King's own honour and ſervice.

Prince Rupert had a long deſire to have that command of the fleet put into his hands; and that deſire, though carried with all ſecrecy, had been the cauſe of ſo many intrigues, either to inflame the ſeamen, or to cheriſh their froward inclinations, and increaſe the prejudice they had to Batten. The Attorney mentioned this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhortly after his coming to the Hague, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his zeal to the King's ſervice, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what perſon the government of the fleet could be committed, when it ſhould ſet ſail from that port, and whither it ſhould go. The Chancellor made no other anſwer to him, than "that it was like to "be a charge of much danger and hazard; that he muſt "not believe that any body would propoſe the under-"taking it to Prince Rupert, or that the Prince would "command him to undertake it; and that he thought "it

" it neceſſary, that it ſhould be firſt reſolved what the " fleet ſhould do, and whither it ſhould go, before a " commander ſhould be appointed over it."

When the Marquis of Ormond had waited ſo many months at Paris for the performance of thoſe gaudy promiſes which the Cardinal had made, after he ſaw in what manner the Prince of Wales himſelf was treated by him, and that he would not ſuffer the leaſt aſſiſtance to be applied to the affairs of England, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the fleet, upon ſo powerful inſurrections in England, and poſſeſſing ſo many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole kingdom of Scotland ſeemed ſo united for his Majeſty's ſervice, and an army of thirty thouſand men were ſaid to be even ready to march; I ſay, after he diſcerned that the Cardinal was ſo far from giving any countenance or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the deſtroying them, but the impriſoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for Ireland. And therefore he reſolved, though he had neither men, nor money, nor arms, nor ammunition, all which had been very liberally promiſed to tranſport with him, he would yet tranſport his own perſon, to what evident danger ſoever he was to expoſe it. Upon the full aſſurance the Cardinal had given him of very ſubſtantial aid, he had aſſured the Lord Inchiquin, " that he would be preſent " with him with notable ſupply of money, arms, and " ammunition, and good officers, and ſome common " men," (which were all in readineſs, if the money had been paid to entertain them), and had likewiſe ſent to many, who had formerly ſerved the King, and lived now quietly in the enemy's quarters, upon the articles which

The affairs of the Marquis of Ormond and the Lord Inchiquin in Ireland.

had been formerly granted the Marquis of Ormond, "that they ſhould expect his ſpeedy arrival."

And though he had, from time to time, ſent advertiſements of the delays and obſtructions he met with in the French Court, ſo that he did almoſt deſpair of any aſſiſtance from it, yet the Lord Inchiquin had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord Liſle, who had been ſufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into England with full malice, and ſuch information (which was not hard for him to be furniſhed with) as would put Cromwell and the army into ſuch fury, that his friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto ſuſtained his credit, would be very hardly able to ſupport him longer. So that, as he was to expect a ſtorm from thence, ſo he had a very ſharp war to maintain againſt the Iriſh, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuncio; which war had been always carried on in Munſter with wonderful animoſity, and with ſome circumſtances of bloodineſs, eſpecially againſt prieſts, and others of the Roman clergy, that it was very hard to hope that thoſe people would live well together. And indeed the Iriſh were near rooted out of the province of Munſter, though they were powerful enough and ſtrong in all the other provinces. Hereupon the Lord Inchiquin, with all poſſible earneſtneſs, writ to the Lord of Ormond, "that, "though without any other aſſiſtance, he would tranſ-"port his own perſon:" by whoſe countenance and authority he preſumed the Iriſh might be divided, and brought to reaſon; and deſired him, "in the mean "time, to ſend to ſuch of the Iriſh as had dependence "upon him, and who, he knew, in their hearts did not "wiſh well to the Nuncio, that they would ſecretly cor-"reſpond with him, and diſpoſe their friends and de-"pendents to concur in what might advance the King's "ſervice;

" ſervice; to which they did not know that he was in-
" clined, but looked upon him, as the ſame malicious
" and irreconcileable enemy to them, as he had always
" appeared to be to their religion, more than to their
" perſons."

From the time that the Iriſh entered into that bloody and fooliſh rebellion, they had very different affections, intentions, and deſigns, which were every day improved in the carrying on the war. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, ſo called from a circuit of ground contained in it, was originally of Engliſh extraction, ſince the firſt plantation by the Engliſh many ages paſt. And though they were degenerated into the manners and barbarous cuſtoms of the Iriſh, and were as ſtupidly tranſported with the higheſt ſuperſtition of the Romiſh religion, yet they had always ſteadily adhered to the Crown, and performed the duty of good ſubjects during all thoſe rebellions which the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth was ſeldom without. And of that temper moſt of the province of Lemſter was: Munſter was the moſt planted with Engliſh of all the provinces of Ireland, and though there were many noblemen of that province who were of the oldeſt Iriſh extractions, and of thoſe families which had been kings of Munſter, yet many of them had intermarried with the beſt Engliſh families, and ſo were better bred and more civilized than the reſt of the old Iriſh, and lived regularly in obedience to the government, and by connivance enjoyed the exerciſe of their religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

An account of the affairs of the Iriſh about this time.

The ſeat of the old Iriſh, who retained the rites, cuſtoms, manners, and ignorance of their anceſtors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the province of Ulſter; not the better cultivated by the neigh-

bourhood of the Scots, who were planted upon them in great numbers, with circumſtances of great rigour. Here the rebellion was firſt contrived, cheriſhed, and entered upon with that horrid barbarity, by the O'Neiles, the Macguyres, and the Macmahoons; and though it quickly ſpread itſelf, and was entertained in the other provinces, (many perſons of honour and quality engaging themſelves by degrees in it for their own ſecurity, as they pretended, to preſerve themſelves from the undiſtinguiſhing ſeverity of the Lords Juſtices, who denounced the war againſt all Iriſh equally, if not againſt all Roman Catholics; which kind of mixture and confuſion was carefully declined in all the orders and directions ſent to them out of England, but ſo unſkilfully purſued by the Juſtices and Council there, that as they found themſelves without any employment or truſt, to which they had cheerfully offered their ſervice, they concluded, that the Engliſh Iriſh were as much in the jealouſy of the State as the other, and ſo reſolved to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable courſes as the reſt had done), yet, I ſay, they were no ſooner entered into the war, which was ſo generally embraced, but there appeared a very great difference in the temper and purpoſes of thoſe who proſecuted it. They of the more moderate party, and whoſe main end was to obtain liberty for the exerciſe of their religion, without any thought of declining their ſubjection to the King, or of invading his prerogative, put themſelves under the command of General Preſton: the other, of the fiercer and more ſavage party, and who never meant to return to their obedience of the Crown of England, and looked upon all the eſtates which had ever been in the poſſeſſion of any of their anceſtors, though forfeited by their treaſon and rebellion, as juſtly due to them, and raviſh-

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ed from them by the tyranny of the Crown, marched under the conduct of Owen Roe O'Neile; both generals of the Iriſh nation; the one deſcended of Engliſh extraction through many deſcents; the other purely Iriſh, and of the family of Tyrone; both bred in the wars of Flanders, and both eminent commanders there, and of perpetual jealouſy of each other: the one of the more frank and open nature; the other darker, leſs polite, and the wiſer man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the field againſt either of them. The characters of Preſton and O'Neile, their chief generals.

This diſparity in the temper and humour of thoſe people firſt diſpoſed thoſe of the moſt moderate to deſire a peace ſhortly after the rebellion was begun, and produced the ceſſation that was firſt entered into, and the peace, which did not ſoon enough enſue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion; but did that in ſo immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Proteſtants of the King's dominions.

Owen Roe O'Neile refuſed to ſubmit to the conditions and articles of that peace, though tranſacted and confirmed by their Catholic Council at Kilkenny, which was the repreſentative the Iriſh nation had choſen for the conduct of all the counſels for peace and war, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid, an entire obedience. The Pope's Nuncio, who about that time came from Rome, and tranſported himſelf into that kingdom, applied himſelf to Owen O'Neile, and took that party into his protection; and ſo wrought upon their clergy, generally, that he broke that peace, and proſecuted thoſe who had made it, with thoſe circumſtances which have been before remembered, and which

neceſſitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the kingdom, and to leave the city of Dublin in the hands of the Parliament; the Lord Inchiquin having likewiſe refuſed to conſent, and ſubmit to that peace, and continued to make the war ſharply and ſucceſsfully againſt the Iriſh in the province of Munſter; whereof he was preſident.

The Pope's Nuncio commands the Iriſh.

But the Nuncio was no ſooner inveſted in the ſupreme command of that nation both by ſea and land, as over a people ſubject to the Pope, and of a dominion belonging to him, than, being a man of a fantaſtical humour, and of an imperious and proud nature, he behaved himſelf ſo inſolently towards all, (and, having brought no aſſiſtance to them but the Pope's bulls, endeavoured by new exactions to enrich himſelf), that even the men of Ulſter were weary of him; and they who had been the inſtruments of the former peace were not wanting to foment thoſe jealouſies and diſcontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at St. Germains, and the reſolution of ſending the Marquis of Ormond thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord Muſkerry (who had married his ſiſter, and was the moſt powerful perſon and of the greateſt intereſt in Munſter of all the Iriſh) and other of his friends notice that the Lord Inchiquin would ſerve the King, and therefore required them to hold ſecret correſpondence with him, and to concur with him in what he ſhould deſire for the advancement of his ſervice, they found means to hold ſuch intercourſe with him, that, before the Marquis of Ormond arrived there, againſt all the oppoſition the Nuncio could make, a ceſſation of arms was concluded between the confederate Catholics and the Lord Inchiquin; and the Nuncio was driven into Waterford; and, upon the matter, beſieged there by

by the Catholic Iriſh; and the Marquis arriving at the ſame time at Kinſale, and being received by the Lord Inchiquin with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorn and contemned Nuncio found it neceſſary to tranſport himſelf into Italy, leaving the kingdom of Ireland under an excommunication, and interdict, as an apoſtate nation; and all the province of Munſter (in which there are many excellent ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's obedience. All which being well known to the Prince and the Council, it was eaſily concluded, "that it was the "beſt, if not the only place the fleet could repair to;" though the danger in conducting it thither was viſible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince Rupert had made that advance towards the command of it, and well ſatisfied with the warineſs of the anſwer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Attorney Herbert.

The Marquis of Ormond arrives at Kinſale, and the Pope's Nuncio leaves Ireland.

There was in truth nobody in view to whom the charge of the fleet could be committed but Prince Rupert: for it was well known that the Lord Willoughby, beſides his being without much experience of the ſea, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the ſeamen were too much broke looſe from all kind of order, to be reduced by a commander of an ordinary rank. It was as true, that Prince Rupert, at that time, was generally very ungracious in England, having the misfortune not to be much beloved by the King's party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreſeen: there was no other choice of a place to which the fleet muſt be carried, but Munſter; and the paſſage thither could not but be full of danger, in reſpect that the Parliament was without queſtion maſter of the ſea, (although the iſland of Scilly being then

under the King's authority, and Sir John Greenvil being the governor thereof, made that paſſage ſomething the more ſecure), therefore this purpoſe was to be concealed as the laſt ſecret; there being great danger that the ſeamen would rather carry all the ſhips back again to the Parliament, than into Ireland; againſt which people they had made a war at ſea with circumſtances very barbarous, for they had ſeldom given any quarter, but the Iriſh, as well merchants and paſſengers, as mariners, which fell into their hands, as hath been ſaid before, were bound back to back, and thrown into the ſea; ſo that they could have no inclination to go into a country whoſe people had been handled ſo cruelly by them.

Here again appeared another objection againſt the perſon of Prince Rupert, who would never endure to be ſubject to the command of the Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom: and yet it ſeemed moſt reaſonable that the ſhips, whilſt they ſtayed there, might be employed towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in rebellion: beſides that there was cauſe to fear, that the Prince would not live with that amity towards the Marquis of Ormond, as was neceſſary for the public ſervice. Notwithſtanding all this, when the little ſtratagem of having Prince Rupert deſired to take the command of the fleet upon him did not ſucceed, Prince Rupert himſelf made the propoſition to the Prince to take the command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highneſs would be pleaſed to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, neceſſity made that to be counſellable, againſt which very many reaſonable objections might be made. So it was reſolved that Prince Rupert ſhould be Admiral of that fleet, and that it ſhould ſail for Ireland. And the charge and expedition appeared to be the more hopeful by the preſence of good officers, who had long

Prince Rupert undertakes the command of the Prince's fleet.

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commanded in the royal navy: Sir Thomas Kettleby, whom the Prince made captain of his own ſhip the Antelope; Sir John Mennes, who had the command of the Swallow, a ſhip of which he had been captain many years before; and Colonel Richard Fielding, who was made captain of the Conſtant Reformation; all worthy and faithful men to the King's ſervice, of long experience in the ſervice at ſea, and well known and loved by the ſeamen. With theſe officers, and ſome other gentlemen, who were willing to ſpend their time in that ſervice, Prince Rupert went to Helvoetſluys, where the ſhips lay, and ſeemed to be received by the fleet with great joy. They all beſtirred themſelves in their ſeveral places to get the ſhips ready for ſea, and all thoſe proviſions which were neceſſary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been uſed.

When they took a ſtrict ſurvey of the ſhips, the carpenters were all of opinion, "that the Convertine, a "ſhip of the ſecond rank, that carried ſeventy guns, "was too old and decayed to be now ſet out in a winter "voyage, and in ſo rough ſeas, and that when a great "deal of money ſhould be laid out to mend her, ſhe "would not be ſerviceable or ſafe." And it did appear, that when the officers of the navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the ſummer, they had declared, "that, "when ſhe came in again, ſhe would not be fit for more "uſe, but muſt be laid upon the ſtocks." Whereupon the ſhip was brought into Helvoetſluys, upon the next ſpring tide, and examined by the beſt Dutch carpenters and ſurveyors; and all being of the ſame mind, information was ſent by Prince Rupert to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the ſale of the ordnance, and whatſoever elſe would yield money: all which was applied to the victualling and ſetting out the

the reſt, without which no means could have been found to have done it; ſo much ill huſbandry had been uſed, and ſo much direct cheating in the managing all the money that had been raiſed upon the prizes.

Prince Rupert remained all the time at Helvoetſluys, till all was ready to ſet ſail, and had, with notable vigour and ſucceſs, ſuppreſſed two or three mutinies, in one of which he had been compelled to throw two or three ſeamen overboard by the ſtrength of his own arms. All ſubordinate officers were appointed, commiſſioners for the ſale of all prize goods, and ſhips that ſhould be taken, treaſurers and paymaſters for iſſuing and paying and receiving all monies; and an eſtabliſhment for the whole too regular and ſtrict to be obſerved: and though all perſons employed were well known, and approved by Prince Rupert, and moſt of them nominated by himſelf, yet he thought it fit after to change that conſtitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts and iſſues under his own management, and ſole government. When all was ready he came to the Hague, to take leave of the Prince, and returned, and about the beginning of December he ſet ſail for Ireland, met with good prizes in the way, and arrived ſafely at Kinſale: nor had he been long gone out of Holland, when the Prince had a ſhrewd evidence how unſecure a long abode would have been there, by ſome Parliament ſhips coming into that road, and ſending their men on ſhore, who at noon-day burnt the Convertine within the very town of Helvoetſluys, nor did the States make any expoſtulation, or do any juſtice for the affront offered to themſelves, and their government.

Sets ſail for Ireland in December.

In this calamitous ſtate of affairs there ſeemed to be no hope left, but that by treaty the King might yet be reſtored to ſuch a condition, that there might be thoſe

roots

roots left in the Crown, from whence its former power and prerogative might ſprout out hereafter, and flouriſh. The commiſſioners for the treaty arrived in the Iſle of Wight upon the fifteenth day of September, whilſt Cromwell yet remained in his northern progreſs, and his army divided into ſeveral parts for the finiſhing his conqueſt; which was the reaſon that all they who wiſhed ill to the treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had uſed and interpoſed all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wiſhed it might ſucceed well, were as ſolicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the leſs to inſiſt upon many particulars both in the propoſitions and the inſtructions, which they hoped might be more

The commiſſioners arrive in the Iſle of Wight, Sept. 15.

liable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

They ſtayed three days in the iſland before the treaty began, which was time little enough to prepare the houſe for the King's reception at Newport, and adjuſting many circumſtances of the treaty. In that time they waited ſeveral times on the King, with great ſhew of outward duty and reſpect; and though none of them durſt adventure to ſee the King in private, they communicated freely with ſome of thoſe lords, and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the treaty. And ſo they found means to advertiſe his Majeſty of many particulars, which they thought neceſſary for him to know; which made different impreſſions upon him, as the information proceeded from perſons better or worſe affected to him. And many of thoſe who had liberty to attend, were competent conſiderers of the truth of what they ſaid.

The truth is, there were amongſt the commiſſioners many who had been carried with the violence of the ſtream,

ſtream, and would be glad of thoſe conceſſions which the King would very cheerfully have granted; an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in. And of all the reſt, who were more paſſionate for the militia, and againſt the Church, there was no man, except Sir Harry Vane, who did not deſire that a peace might be eſtabliſhed by that treaty. For as all the other lords deſired, in their own natures and affections, no more than that their tranſgreſſions might never more be called to remembrance; ſo the Lord Say himſelf (who was as proud of his quality, and of being diſtinguiſhed from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foreſaw what would become of his peerage, if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army ſhould make their own model of the government they would ſubmit to, (as undoubtedly they reſolved ſhortly to do), therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was propoſed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majeſty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections ſoever they were, was the ſame, "that "his Majeſty ſhould, forthwith, and without delaying "it to the expiration of the term aſſigned by the Par-"liament for the treaty," (which was forty days), "yield "to the full demands which were made in the propoſi-"tions." Their only argument was, "that, if he did "not, or not do it quickly, the army would proceed "their own way, and had enough declared, that they "would depoſe the King, change the government, and "ſettle a republic by their own rules and invention." And this advertiſement was as well believed by thoſe of the King's own party, as by the commiſſioners themſelves.

Before the treaty begun, the commiſſioners made it known

known to the King, "that they could not admit that "any perſon ſhould be preſent in the room where the "treaty ſhould be in debate: that they were commiſ- "ſioners ſent from the Parliament to treat with his Ma- "jeſty, and with him alone; and that they might not "permit any particular and private perſons to oppoſe "or confer with them upon the demands of the Parlia- "ment." So that albeit the Parliament had given leave to the ſeveral Biſhops, and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminency, to wait on his Majeſty, upon his deſire, that they might inſtruct and inform him in all difficult caſes which related to religion or the law of the land, they were like to be of little uſe to him now they were come, if they might not be preſent at the debate, and offer ſuch advice to his Majeſty, as upon emergent occaſions he ſhould ſtand in need of, or require from them. At laſt they were contented, and his Majeſty was obliged to be contented too, that they might ſtand behind a curtain, and hear all that was ſaid, and when any ſuch difficulty occurred as would require conſulta- tion, his Majeſty might retire to his chamber, and call thoſe to him, with whom he would adviſe, to attend him, and might then return again into the room for the treaty, and declare his own reſolution. This was the un- equal and unreaſonable preliminary and condition, to which the King was compelled to ſubmit before the treaty could begin.

They who had not ſeen the King in a year's time (for it was little leſs from the time that he had left Hampton Court) found his countenance extremely al- tered. From the time that his own ſervants had been taken from him, he would never ſuffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new clothes; ſo that his aſpect and appearance was very different from what it had uſed

to

to be: otherwiſe, his health was good, and he was much more cheerful in his diſcourſes towards all men than could have been imagined, after ſuch mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his ſpirits, but carried himſelf with the ſame majeſty he had uſed to do. His hair was all gray, which, making all others very ſad, made it thought that he had ſorrow in his countenance, which appeared only by that ſhadow.

Upon Monday the 18th of September, the treaty begun, and the commiſſioners preſented their commiſſion to his Majeſty, to treat with him perſonally, upon the propoſitions preſented formerly at Hampton Court, concerning the kingdom of England and Ireland only, and upon ſuch propoſitions as ſhould be offered either by his Majeſty, or the two Houſes of Parliament, according to their inſtructions, &c. Though the King knew very well, that Cromwell had ſo totally ſubdued Scotland, that he had not left any man there in the leaſt authority or power, who did ſo much as pretend to wiſh well to him, and that, in truth, Cromwell had as much the command there as Argyle himſelf had, who was but his creature, yet, either to recover their broken ſpirits, or to manifeſt his own royal compaſſion for them, he told the commiſſioners, "that, when the "propoſitions had been delivered to him at Hampton "Court, the Scottiſh intereſt was ſo involved in them, "that it could be hardly ſeparable from that of Eng-"land: that it concerned him, as King of both king-"doms, to be juſt and equal between both; and that "though they had no authority to treat for any thing "but what related to England, yet he, who was to pro-"vide for the public peace, (which could hardly be pro-"vided for, except the Scots were comprehended in "this treaty), did deſire, that they would ſend to the

"two

" two Houſes of Parliament, to give a paſs for one of " his ſervants to go into Scotland, to invite the Council " there to ſend ſomebody authorized by that kingdom, " who might treat with the commiſſioners of Parlia- " liament :" and to that purpoſe his Majeſty delivered them a paper in writing to be ſent by them to the Parliament, telling them at the ſame time, " that it was " never his deſire or meaning, that they ſhould meddle " in the government of England, but only ſhould treat " concerning the peace, to the end that that might be " durable." But the commiſſioners alleged, that " it " was not in their power to receive and tranſmit that, or " any other paper, to the Parliament, that referred to " that kingdom ; and they beſought him to give them " leave, as an evidence of their duty, to inform him of " what ill conſequence the tranſmiſſion of that paper at " that time might be to the treaty itſelf." Whereupon he declined ſending it by a meſſenger of his own for the preſent, (which he intended to have done), being unwilling to give any occaſion of diſpute or jealouſy ſo early, and believing that after he ſhould have gotten a good underſtanding with the two Houſes, in what was of immediate concernment to England, he ſhould more effectually tranſmit that, or any other paper, for the more eaſy compoſing the affairs of Scotland.

Then they preſented their firſt propoſition to his Majeſty ; " that he would revoke all declarations, and " commiſſions granted heretofore by him againſt the " Parliament." Whereupon his Majeſty deſired, " that " he might ſee all the propoſitions, they had to make to " him, together ; that he might the better conſider " what ſatisfaction he could give them upon the whole ;" which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at laſt delivered them with reluctancy, as a

The firſt propoſition for revoking all his Majeſty's declarations, &c.

thing

thing they were not ſure they ought to do. And though their commiſſion referred to inſtructions, and his Majeſty deſired that he might have a view of thoſe, they peremptorily refuſed to let him have a ſight of them; and only told him, "that they were directed "by their inſtructions, firſt to treat upon the propoſi- "tion they had already preſented to him, concerning "the revocation of the declarations, &c. and in the "next place, of the Church, then of the militia, and "fourthly of Ireland, and afterwards of the reſt of the "propoſitions in order;" and they declared likewiſe that, "by their inſtructions, they were not to enter upon any "new propoſitions, before they ſhould have received "his Majeſty's final anſwer to what was firſt pro- "poſed."

Hereupon the King demanded of them, "whether they "had power and authority to recede from any particular "contained in their propoſitions, or to conſent to any "alterations, if his Majeſty ſhould give them good reaſon "ſo to do?" To which they anſwered very magiſterially, "that they were ready to debate, to ſhew how reaſona- "ble their deſires were, and that there could be no "reaſon why they ſhould alter or recede from them; "but if his Majeſty did ſatisfy them, they ſhould do "therein as they were warranted by their inſtructions." Theſe limitations and reſtrictions in a matter of that importance, which contained a new frame of govern- ment, and an alteration of all civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, almoſt damped and ſtifled all the hope his Majeſty had entertained of good from this treaty. However, he reſolved to try if conſenting to the ſubſtan- tial part of any propoſition would give them ſatisfac- tion; and ſo, without taking notice of the preamble of that propoſition, which they had delivered to him, he declared

declared in writing, which he delivered to them, "that "he was willing to grant the body of their propoſition, "that was to recall all declarations, &c." But they immediately returned another paper to him, in which they ſaid, "his Majeſty had left unanſwered the moſt eſſen- "tial part of their propoſition," repeating the words in the preamble, which recited, "that the two Houſes of "Parliament had been neceſſitated to enter into a war "in their juſt and lawful defence; and that the king- "dom of England had entered into a ſolemn league "and covenant to proſecute the ſame;" and ſo juſtifying all that had been done, &c. To all which they very vehemently preſſed "his Majeſty's approbation and con- "ſent, as the moſt neceſſary foundation of a laſting "peace, and the indiſpenſable expectation of the two "Houſes and of the whole kingdom; and that the two "Houſes, and the kingdom, could not decline this par- "ticular demand, without which they could not believe "themſelves to be in any ſecurity; ſince, by the letter "of the law, they who had adhered to the Parliament, "might ſeem guilty of raiſing war againſt the King, "and ſo to be guilty of high treaſon by the ſtatute of "the 25th year of King Edward the Third: whereas by "the conſtruction and equity thereof they were juſtified; "and therefore that the conſenting to this preamble was "ſo eſſential, that without it the Parliament would be "thought guilty; which they hoped his Majeſty did "not deſire it ſhould." And that this might make the deeper impreſſion upon him, the Lord Say, in the debate of it, twice repeated, with more paſſion than was natural to his conſtitution, "that he did tremble to "think how ſad the conſequence would be, if what they "now preſſed ſhould be denied." And others ſaid, that "it was no more than his Majeſty had heretofore granted

His Majeſty's anſwer to it.

" in the Act of Indemnity that he had paſſed in Scot-
" land; and if he ſhould now refuſe to do it in England,
" there would be a ſpeedy end put to the treaty, without
" entering upon any of the other propoſitions." The King was ſo much perplexed and offended with this haughty way of reaſoning, that he told thoſe with whom he conſulted, and writ the ſame to the Prince his ſon, " that the long reſtraint he had endured in the caſtle of
" Cariſbrook, was not a greater evidence of the capti-
" vity of his perſon, nor was he more ſenſible of it, than
" this was of the captivity of his mind, by his being
" forced to decline thoſe anſwers and arguments which
" were proper to the ſupport of his cauſe, and which
" muſt have brought bluſhes over the faces of the com-
" miſſioners, and to frame others more ſeaſonable and fit
" to be offered to men in that condition from him who
" was to receive, and not give conditions."

Diſpute concerning the preamble of it.

However, this propoſition was of ſo horrid and monſtrous a nature, ſo contrary to the known truth, and ſo deſtructive to juſtice and government, that it ſeemed to naturalize rebellion, and to make it current in the kingdom to all poſterity, that his Majeſty could not forbear to tell them, " that no act of Parliament could make
" that to be true, which was notoriouſly known to be
" falſe; that this treaty muſt be the foundation of the
" future peace and ſecurity, and what was herein pro-
" vided for both could never be called in queſtion; that
" he was moſt willing, that it ſhould be made very penal
" to every man to reproach another for any thing he
" had done during the late troubles, upon what provo-
" cation ſoever." He put them in mind, " that it was
" well known to ſome of them, that the Act of Indem-
" nity in Scotland was paſſed when his Majeſty was not
" there, nor any commiſſioner appointed by him: that

" it

" it was prepared and drawn by his Attorney General " of that kingdom, who was then of the party that was " againſt his Majeſty; and therefore it was no wonder " that he called thoſe of his own ſide, loyal ſubjects, " and good Chriſtians, in the preamble of that Act; " which was never ſeen by his Majeſty, though it was " confirmed indeed, with the other Acts which had " paſſed in that diſorderly time, by his Majeſty upon " the concluſion of the peace, and their return to their " obedience; and that, when that ſhould be the caſe " here, he would give them all the appellations they " ſhould deſire, and as unqueſtionable ſecurity as they " could wiſh." To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimouſly, " but that they could not believe " themſelves ſecure, if that preamble was not entirely " conſented to."

This refractory obſtinate adherence of the commiſſioners to their own will, without any ſhadow of reaſon, prevailed nothing upon the King; inſomuch as he was inclined to run the hazard of the preſent diſſolution of the treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniences and miſchiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to ſacrifice his honour, and the juſtice of his cauſe, to their inſolent demand, until he had entered into a ſerious deliberation with thoſe perſons who were about him, of whoſe affections to him he had all aſſurance, and of the great abilities and underſtanding of moſt of them he had a very juſt eſteem. They all repreſented to him, from the conference they had with ſuch of the commiſſioners, who, they were confident, ſpoke to them as they thought and believed, " that if there were no expedient found " out to give more ſatisfaction upon this firſt propoſi- " tion, than his Majeſty had yet offered, as ſoon as the " commiſſioners ſhould give account of it to the two

" Houſes, they would be preſently recalled; and the " treaty be at an end: and then it would be univerſally " declared and believed, how untrue ſoever the aſſertion " was, that the King refuſed to ſecure the Parliament, " and all who had adhered to them, from a proſecution " by law; upon which they thought it to no purpoſe to " proceed farther in the treaty: whereas if his Majeſty " had condeſcended to them in that particular, which " concerned the lives and fortunes of their whole party " in the kingdom, they would have given him ſuch ſa- " tisfaction in all other particulars, as a full and happy " peace muſt have enſued."

Then the lawyers informed him, " that his giving " way to a recital in a new law, which was not a decla- " ratory law of what the law was formerly in being, " concerning the buſineſs in queſtion, and only in a pre- " amble to a law for recalling declarations, &c. did not " make their actions lawful, if they were not ſo before; " nor did it take away from thoſe who had adhered to " him, any defence or benefit the former laws had given " to them; nor would his party be in a worſe condition " than they had always been: for his Majeſty had al- " ways offered, in all his declarations, that they who fol- " lowed him, and who were by them called Delinquents, " ſhould, at all times, ſubmit to a trial by the laws of " the land, and if they ſhould be found guilty of any " crime, they ſhould not be protected by him. And it " was evident, by their not proſecuting any one, ſince " they were fallen into their hands, in any legal way, " that they do not think their tranſgreſſions can be pu- " niſhed by law."

Upon theſe reaſons, and the joint advice and importunity of all about him, as well the divines as the lawyers, the King firſt delivered a paper in writing to the com-

commiſſioners, in which he declared, "that nothing that "ſhould be put in writing concerning any propoſition, "or part of any propoſition, ſhould be binding, preju- "dicial, or made uſe of, if the treaty ſhould break off "without effect:" and the commiſſioners preſented another paper in writing, in which they fully conſented to that declaration, in the very terms of the ſaid declaration. Thereupon the King conſented to paſs the firſt propoſition, with the preamble to it, albeit, he ſaid, "that "he well foreſaw the aſperſions it would expoſe him to; "yet he hoped his good ſubjects would confeſs that it "was but a part of the price he had paid for their be- "nefit, and the peace of his dominions." The King conſents to it.

The firſt propoſition being thus conſented to as they could wiſh, they delivered their ſecond concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehended "the utter "aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and all juriſdiction exerciſed "by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans and chapters, and "alienating their lands, which ſhould be ſold to the uſe "and benefit of the commonwealth; the Covenant; "which was preſented to his Majeſty to take himſelf, "and to impoſe upon all others: the Common-Prayer "and public Liturgy of the Church to be aboliſhed, "and taken away; and that the reformation of Religion, "according to the Covenant, in ſuch manner as both "Houſes had, or ſhould agree, after conſultation with "divines, ſhould be ſettled by Act of Parliament:" which, the King told them, "exceeded the implicit "faith of the Church of Rome; which rather obliges "her proſelytes to what ſhe does hold, than to what ſhe "ſhall." It required "the eſtabliſhing the Preſbyterian "government, the Directory, the Articles of Chriſtian "Religion," (a body whereof they preſented), "the ſup- "preſſing innovations in churches; for the better ad- The ſecond propoſition concerning Religion and the Church.

" vancement of preaching, the obſervation of the Lord's " day; a Bill againſt Pluralities and Non-reſidency; " ſeveral Acts againſt Papiſts; and the taking and im- " poſing the Covenant."

This pregnant propoſition, containing ſo many monſtrous particulars, ſufficiently warned his Majeſty, how impoſſible it would be to give them ſatisfaction in all; and therefore having, by conſenting to the entire firſt propoſition, put it out of their power to break off the treaty, and to tell the people, " that the King, at the " entrance into it, had denied to give them any ſecurity " for their lives and fortunes," he thought it now fit to offer to the commiſſioners a propoſition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the people, might clearly diſcern how much of his own right and dignity he would ſacrifice for their peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the deſigns of thoſe who might endeavour, upon one ſingle propoſition, or part of a propoſition, to break the treaty.

The King offers a propoſition of his own; which the commiſſioners refuſe to ſend to the Houſes.

His own propoſition contained, in very few words, but three particulars: 1. " That he might enjoy his " liberty: 2. That his revenue might be reſtored to " him: 3. That an act of oblivion might paſs:" which, he very well knew, would be moſt grateful to thoſe who ſeemed to value it leaſt, as it would exempt his own friends from any illegal and unjuſt vexations.

The commiſſioners abſolutely refuſed to ſend it to the Houſes, though they had no authority to anſwer it themſelves. They ſaid, " it rather contained an anſwer " to all their propoſitions, than was a ſingle propoſition " of his own; and that the ſole end of making it was " to cajole the people;" which, the King told them, " better became him to do than any body elſe." But when they peremptorily refuſed to tranſmit it to the Houſes,

Houſes, the King ſent an expreſs of his own to deliver it; which being done, after ſome days deliberation, the Houſes return no other anſwer to the King, "than that "his propoſition was not ſatisfactory." In the mean time the commiſſioners preſſed for his anſwer to the firſt part of their propoſition, for the aboliſhing of biſhops. It would be very tedious and unneceſſary to ſet down at large the diſpute, and arguments which were uſed on both ſides upon this ſubject. The commiſſioners, who would not ſuffer any of the King's ſervants to be ſo much as preſent when any thing of the treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let looſe their own clergy upon the King; who was much better verſed in the argument than they were.

The King ſends it by meſſengers of his own; but it is voted unſatisfactory.

That which they urged moſt, was the common allegations, "that biſhop and preſbyter in the Scripture "language ſignified one and the ſame thing: that, if "the Apoſtles exerciſed a larger juriſdiction, it had been "granted to them as Apoſtles, and concerned not their "ſucceſſors, to whom no ſuch authority had been granted, nor any ſuperiority over other preſbyters, who "were of the ſame function with them." Then they inveighed vehemently againſt "lords biſhops; their "pride, and luſtre;" and they all behaved themſelves with that rudeneſs, as if they meant to be no longer ſubject to a king, no more than to a biſhop. And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, "that if "he did not conſent to the utter aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, he would be damned;" with which his Majeſty was not moved. The men, Jenkins and Spurſtow, lived after the return of King Charles the Second, and, according to the modeſty of that race of people, came to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, and continued the ſame zeal in all ſeditious attempts.

Their miniſters diſpute with the King about the biſhops.

The King preſſed them with thoſe texts of Scripture which have been conſtantly urged by thoſe who maintain the *jus divinum* of biſhops, the authority of the Fathers, and the government of all Chriſtian churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of England, before and ſince the Reformation, by conſtant and uniform practice and uſage; which could not but be by themſelves acknowledged to have been by biſhops. The commiſſioners relieved their ill mannered clergy, and urged, "that whatſoever was not of divine inſtitu-"tion might very lawfully be altered; for if it had its "original from men, it might by men be changed, or "reverſed: that epiſcopacy as it was eſtabliſhed in the "Church by the laws of England, was not that epiſco-"pacy that was mentioned or preſcribed in Scripture; "and therefore the laws which ſupported it might be "juſtly taken away; which, they ſaid, was the reaſon "that had induced many men who were not enemies to "epiſcopacy, to take the Covenant; which obliged them "to take the preſent hierarchy away."

In a word they urged "the practice of other reformed "churches, and that his Majeſty inſiſting upon the "preſervation of epiſcopacy, as eſſentially neceſſary, was "to reproach and condemn them." To which he anſwered, "that both Calvin and Beza, and moſt learned "men of the reformed churches, had approved and "commended the epiſcopal government in England; "and many of them had bewailed themſelves, that they "were not permitted to retain that government."

Beſides all their arguments in public, which his Majeſty with wonderful acuteneſs fully anſwered, and delivered his anſwers in writing to them, (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto), they found means in private to advertiſe the King, that is, ſuch of them

them who were known to wiſh well to him, "that they "were of his Majeſty's judgment with reference to the "government, which they hoped might yet be pre- "ſerved, but not by the method his Majeſty purſued: "that all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the Crown, "was in dividing the Parliament from the army; which "could be only done by his giving ſatisfaction in what "was demanded with reference to the Church; which "would unite the Parliament in itſelf, ſome few perſons "excepted, and the city to the Parliament; where the "Preſbyterians were moſt powerful; and this being "done, the Parliament would immediately have power "to reform their army, and to diſband thoſe who "would not be reformed: that then the King would be "removed to London, to perfect that by his own pre- "ſence in Parliament, which ſhould be prepared by this "treaty; and then the wording thoſe bills, and the "formality of paſſing them, would give opportunity for "many alterations; which, being now attempted, would "deſtroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the army; "which would deſtroy the King: but then, what the "King urged as matter of conſcience in himſelf would "find reſpect, reverence, and concurrence." No doubt they, who did make theſe inſinuations, did in truth believe themſelves; and did think, as well as wiſh, that the ſequel would be ſuch as they foretold. But that which had more authority with the King, and which nobody about him could put him in mind of, becauſe none of them had been privy to it, was the remembrance of what he had promiſed concerning the Church to the Scots, in the engagement at the Iſle of Wight; which he could not but conclude was well known to many of the Preſbyterians in England: and he thought, that whatever he had promiſed to do then, upon the bare

bare hope and probability of raiſing an army, he might reaſonably now offer when that army was deſtroyed, and no hope left of raiſing another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the ſame he had then promiſed to do; which was, "to ſuſpend epiſcopacy for "three years, and then upon conſultation with divines, "amongſt which he would nominate twenty to be preſent, and to conſult with them, ſuch a government of "the Church as ſhould be agreed upon might be eſtabliſhed: that he would not force any man to take the "Covenant, and would have the privilege of his own "chapel to uſe the Common-Prayer, and obſerve the "ſame worſhip he had uſed to do; and that all perſons, "who deſired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant, and to uſe the Directory: in fine, he conſented "to all that he had offered in that engagement with reference to the government of the Church;" and likewiſe, "that money ſhould be raiſed upon the ſale of the "church lands, and only the old rent ſhould be reſerved to the juſt owners and their ſucceſſors." Theſe, with ſome other conceſſions of leſs importance, which related to other branches of the ſame propoſition, *magna inter ſuſpiria*, he delivered to the commiſſioners as his final anſwer; which the major part of them did then believe would have preſerved his Majeſty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The King's conceſſions on this point.

The next propoſition was concerning the militia; which was their darling; and diſtinguiſhed the Scots from the Engliſh Preſbyterians; the former never deſiring to invade that unqueſtionable prerogative of the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Preſbytery itſelf; and in that particular concurred even with Cromwell, and made little doubt of ſubduing him by it in a ſhort time. In

The third propoſition concerning the militia.

this

this demand they exerciſed their uſual modeſty, and, to abridge the ſubſtance of it in few words, they required "a power to keep up the preſent army, and to raiſe what "other armies they pleaſed for the future; which gave "them authority over the perſons of all ſubjects, of "what degree or quality ſoever. Secondly, a power to "raiſe money for the uſe and maintenance of thoſe "forces, in ſuch a manner, and by ſuch ways and means, "as they ſhould think fit." And hereby they had had the diſpoſal of the eſtates and fortunes of all men without reſtraint or limitation. Thirdly, "all forces by "land and ſea to be managed and diſpoſed as they "ſhould think fit, and not otherwiſe." All this modeſt power and authority "muſt be granted to the Lords and "Commons for twenty years." And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "that in all "caſes, when the Lords and Commons ſhall declare the "ſafety of the kingdom to be concerned, unleſs the "King give his royal aſſent to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be "tendered to him for raiſing money, the Bill ſhall have "the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he had given "his royal aſſent."

There were other particulars included, of power to the city of London over the militia, and for the Tower of London, of no importance to the King, if he once diſpoſed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the reſt belonged. Here the King was to conſider whether he would wholly grant it, or wholly deny it, or whether he might reaſonably hope ſo to limit it, that they might have authority enough to pleaſe them, and he reſerve ſome to himſelf for his own ſecurity. The King had thought with himſelf, upon revolving all expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propoſe "that the inhabitants of

"every

"every county ſhould be the ſtanding militia of the "kingdom, to be drawn out of the counties upon any "occaſions which ſhould occur;" which would prevent all exceſſive taxes and impoſitions, when they were to be paid by themſelves. But he quickly diſcerned that ſuch a propoſition would be preſently called a conſpiracy againſt the army, and ſo put an end to all other expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant power in ſuch a manner, that it might not appear ſo monſtrous to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever; and therefore propoſed, "that none ſhould be compelled to "ſerve in the war againſt their wills, but in caſe of an "invaſion by foreign enemies: that the power concern-"ing the land forces ſhould be exerciſed to no other "purpoſes, than for the ſuppreſſing of forces which "might at any time be raiſed without the authority and "conſent of the Lords and Commons, and for the keep-"ing up and maintaining the forts and garriſons, and "the preſent army, ſo long as it ſhould be thought fit "by both Houſes of Parliament: that what monies "ſhould at any time be thought neceſſary to be raiſed, "ſhould be raiſed by general and equal taxes, and im-"poſitions; and laſtly, that all patents and commiſſions "to the purpoſes aforeſaid might be made in the King's "name, by warrant ſignified by the Lords and Com-"mons, or ſuch other ſignification as they ſhould di-"rect and authorize."

The King's anſwer.

Theſe limitations were ſent to the Parliament, who, according to the method they had aſſumed, ſoon voted "that the meſſage was unſatisfactory." Hereupon, that he might at leaſt leave ſome monument and record of his care and tenderneſs of his people, (for, after his extorted conceſſions to the ſo great prejudice of the Church, he never conſidered what might be dangerous to

This voted by the Parliament unſatisfactory.

to his own perſon), he delivered his conſent to the propoſition itſelf to the commiſſioners, with a preamble to this purpoſe; "that whereas their propoſition concerning the militia required a far larger power over the "perſons and eſtates of his ſubjects, than had been ever "hitherto warranted by the laws and ſtatutes of the "kingdom, yet in regard the preſent diſtractions might "require more, and truſting in his two Houſes of Parliament, that they would make no farther uſe of the "power therein mentioned, after the preſent diſtempers "ſhould be ſettled, than ſhould be agreeable to the "legal exerciſe thereof in times paſt, and for the purpoſes particularly mentioned in their propoſition, and "to give ſatisfaction to his two Houſes of Parliament "that he intends a full ſecurity to them, and to expreſs "his real deſires to ſettle the peace of the kingdom, his "Majeſty doth conſent to the propoſition concerning "the militia as it was deſired." This the commiſſioners did by no means like, nor would acquieſce in, and alleged, "that as the conceſſion muſt be the ſubject of "an Act of Parliament, ſo this preamble muſt be a part "of it, and would adminiſter occaſion of difference and "diſpute upon the interpretation of it; which being ſo "clearly foreſeen, ought not to be admitted in any Act "of Parliament, much leſs in ſuch a one as is to be the "principal foundation of a laſting peace of the kingdom." After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of friends, as well as of enemies, and being almoſt as weary of denying as of granting, he ſuffered the preamble to be left out, and his conſent to be delivered without it.

The King conſents to it with a preamble.

At laſt conſents to it without the preamble.

It may be well wondered at, that, after having ſo far complied with theſe three propoſitions, there ſhould be any pauſe or heſitation in the debate of the reſt. For

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in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the militia, both the Church and the militia of Ireland followed the fate of England, and were in effect comprehended in the ſame propoſitions: ſo that there remained nothing more with reference to that kingdom,

The fourth propoſition concerning Ireland.

" but declaring the peace that was made there with the " Iriſh, to be void;" which they preſſed with the ſame paſſion, as if they had obtained nothing; although his Majeſty referred the carrying on the war to them, and told them, " that he knew nothing of the peace, " which had been made during his impriſonment, when " he could receive no advertiſement of what was doing, " or done; and therefore he was content that it ſhould " be broken, and the war be carried on in ſuch a man- " ner as ſhould pleaſe them;" which was all one to their ends and purpoſes, as what they deſired. But this did by no means pleaſe them. If the peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not ſo eaſily take that vengeance of the Marquis of Ormond as they reſolved to do. Yet after all theſe general conceſſions, which ſo much concerned himſelf, and the public, and when the neceſſity that had obliged him to that unwilling compliance, might well have excuſed him for ſatisfying them in all the reſt of their demands, when they preſſed his conſent to what only concerned private and particular perſons, as the revoking all honours and grants of offices which he had conferred upon thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully, and to except many of them from pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful cenſure of the two Houſes, both for their lives and fortunes; to ſubmit others to pay, for their delinquency in obeying and ſerving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their ſeveral profeſſions, and functions, (which expoſed all

the

the lawyers and divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin), it cannot be expreſſed with what grief and trouble of mind he received thoſe importunities; and, without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingneſs have died, than ſubmitted to it; but the argument, "that he had done ſo much," was now preſſed upon him, (by his friends, and thoſe who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it), "that he ſhould do more; and ſince he had "condeſcended to many things which gave himſelf no "ſatisfaction, he would give ſo full ſatisfaction to the "Parliament, that he might receive that benefit, and "the kingdom that peace and ſecurity he deſired."

Some other particulars the King at firſt ſticks at.

Many advertiſements came from his friends in London, and from other places, "that it was high time that "the treaty were at an end, and that the Parliament "had all his Majeſty's anſwers before them, to deter-"mine what they would do upon them, before the "army drew nearer London, which, infallibly, it would "ſhortly do, as ſoon as thoſe in the North had finiſhed "their work." It was now near the end of October, and the appointed time for the concluſion of the treaty was the fourth of November; and ſo after all importunities, as well of thoſe who were to ſuffer, as of thoſe who were to triumph in their ſufferings, his Majeſty's conſent was procured to moſt that was demanded in the reſt of the propoſitions; the King, and all men, conceiving the treaty to be at an end.

But conſents at laſt.

The King had, about the middle of October, again delivered his own propoſition for his liberty, his revenue, and an act of oblivion, to the commiſſioners; which they received. And though, at the beginning of the treaty, they had refuſed to tranſmit it to the Houſes, yet now, after ſo many conceſſions, they thought fit to ſend

The commiſſioners now ſend the King's own propoſition to the Parliament.

ſend it; and did ſo as ſoon as they received it. But no anſwer was returned. Hereupon, when the treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majeſty demanded of them, "whether they had received any inſtructions to treat "upon, or to give an anſwer to his own propoſition, which "he had delivered to them ſo long ſince? or whether "they had received any order to prolong the treaty?" To which they anſwered, "they had not as to either." And when he aſked them the ſame queſtion, the very laſt hour of the limited time, they made the ſame anſwer. So that the whole forty days aſſigned for the treaty were expired, before they vouchſafed to return any anſwer to the ſingle propoſition the King had made to them. However they told him, "they had re-"ceived new command to make freſh inſtance to his "Majeſty, that he would forthwith publiſh a declara-"tion againſt the Marquis of Ormond; who had very "lately declared, that he had authority to make a peace "with the Iriſh rebels; and was then treating with "them to that purpoſe." To which his Majeſty anſwered, "that it was not reaſonable to preſs him to "publiſh any declaration againſt the Marquis; ſince "that if the treaty ſhould end happily, the deſires of the "two Houſes were ſatisfied by the conceſſions he had "already made;" and ſo adhered to his firſt anſwer. And conceiving the treaty to be cloſed, he deſired the commiſſioners, "that ſince he had departed from ſo "much of his own right to give his two Houſes ſatisfac-"tion, they would be a means that he might be preſſed "no farther; ſince the few things he had not ſatisfied "them in had ſo near relation to his conſcience, that, "with the peace of that, he could not yield farther; "and deſired them to uſe the ſame eloquence, and "abilities, by which they had prevailed with him, in "repreſenting

They require a declaration of the King againſt the Marquis of Ormond.

His Majeſty's anſwer.

" repreſenting to the two Houſes the ſad condition of " the kingdom, if it were not preſerved by this treaty." And ſo concluded with many gracious expreſſions for their perſonal civilities, and other kind expreſſions; which made impreſſion upon all of them who had any bowels.

All this being paſt, and the King believing and expecting that the commiſſioners would take their leave of him the next morning, they came the ſame night to inform him, " that they had then received new orders " and inſtructions for the continuing and enlarging the " treaty for fourteen days longer;" for which his Majeſty was nothing glad; nor did they in the Houſes who wiſhed well to him deſire that prolongation. For it was eaſily diſcerned, that it was moved and proſecuted only by them who did not intend that the treaty itſelf ſhould have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the army not having yet finiſhed what they were to do in all places; and was conſented to unſkilfully, by thoſe who thought the continuance of the treaty was the beſt ſign that both ſides deſired peace: and it quickly appeared, by the new inſtances they made, that delay was their only buſineſs. The commiſſioners, with new importunity and bitterneſs, begun upon their new inſtructions " that " the King would immediately publiſh the declaration " againſt the Marquis of Ormond," without any other reaſons than thoſe which he had anſwered before. His Majeſty anſwered, " there was no other difference be- " tween them but in point of time, whether preſently, " or at the concluſion of the peace: upon the peace, they " had the ſubſtance of their deſire already granted; and " if there were no peace, they had reaſon to believe " that no declaration he ſhould make would be believed

The Parliament enlarges the treaty fourteen days longer.

The commiſſioners renew their demand about Ormond.

His Majeſty's anſwer.

" or obeyed;" and ſo adhered to what he had anſwered formerly.

They urge farther about the Church.

Then they declared, " that the Parliament was not ſa-
" tisfied with his conceſſions with reference to the
" Church; that the Preſbyterian government could be
" exerciſed with little profit, or comfort, if it ſhould
" appear to be ſo ſhort-lived as to continue but for
" three years; and that they muſt therefore preſs the
" utter extirpating the function of biſhops." Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their lands was inſiſted on; whereas by the King's conceſſions the old rent was ſtill reſerved to them. They ſaid, " the Parliament did
" not intend to force, but only to rectify his conſcience;" and, to that end, they added more reaſons to convince him in the ſeveral points. They repeated their old diſtinction between the Scripture-biſhop, and the biſhop by law. For the abſolute alienation of their lands, they urged many precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or neceſſity, not ſo viſible and manifeſt as appeared at preſent; and concluded with their uſual threat, " that the conſequence
" of his denial would be the continuance of the public
" diſturbances."

The King's anſwer.

To all which his Majeſty anſwered, " that, for the
" Preſbyterian government, they might remember that
" their own firſt order for the ſettling it, was only for
" three years; which they then thought a competent
" time for a probationary law, that contained ſuch an
" alteration in the State; and therefore they ought to
" think the ſame now: and that it might be longer lived
" than three years, if it would in that time bear the
" teſt and examination of it; and that nothing could
" be a greater honour to that diſcipline, than its being
" able to bear that teſt and examination." He ſaid,
" he

" he was well pleaſed with their expreſſion, that they " did not intend to force his conſcience; yet the man- " ner of preſſing him looked very like it, after he had " ſo ſolemnly declared that it was againſt his conſcience; " that he did concur with them in their diſtinction of " biſhops, and if they would preſerve the Scripture- " biſhop, he would take away the biſhop by law." He confeſſed, " that neceſſity might juſtify or excuſe many " things, but it could never warrant him to deprive the " Church of God of an order inſtituted for continual " uſe, and for eſtabliſhing a ſucceſſion of lawful miniſters " in the Church." For the point of ſacrilege, he ſaid, " the concurrent opinion of all divines was a much " better information to his conſcience, what is ſacrilege, " than any precedents or law of the land could be." Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former anſwer in all the particulars, and concluded, " that he " could with more comfort caſt himſelf upon God's " goodneſs to ſupport him in, and defend him from, all " afflictions, how great ſoever, that might befall him, " than deprive himſelf of the inward tranquillity of his " mind, for any politic conſideration that might ſeem to " be a means to reſtore him."

It muſt not be forgotten, that the laſt day, when the treaty was to end, they delivered to the King the votes which the two Houſes had paſſed concerning and upon his own meſſage, (which had lain ſo long in their hands unanſwered), which were in effect, 1. " That from and af- " ter ſuch time as the agreements upon this treaty ſhould " be ratified by Acts of Parliament, all his houſes, " manors, and lands, with the growing rents and profits " thereof, and all other legal revenue of the Crown " ſhould be reſtored to him, liable to the maintenance

The Parliament's votes upon the King's former poſition.

" of thoſe ancient forts, and caſtles, and ſuch other legal " charges as they were formerly charged withal, or li- " able to. 2. That he ſhould be then likewiſe reſettled " in a condition of honour, freedom, and ſafety, agree- " able to the laws of the land. 3. That an act of in- " demnity ſhould be then paſſed with ſuch exceptions " and limitations as ſhould be agreed upon, with this " addition, that it ſhould be declared by Act of Parlia- " ment, that nothing contained in his Majeſty's propo- " ſitions ſhould be underſtood or made uſe of to abro- " gate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any agree- " ment in this treaty, or any law, grant, or commiſſion " agreed upon by his Majeſty and the two Houſes of " Parliament, in purſuance thereof;" in all which his Majeſty acquieſced.

The time limited for the prolongation of the treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of November, and the commiſſioners believed it ſo abſolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next morning went to Cowes harbour to embark themſelves. But the tide not ſerving to tranſport them out of the iſland, that night a meſſenger arrived with directions to them to continue the treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they returned and acquainted his Majeſty with it.

Another prolongation of the treaty till Nov. 25.

The declaration of the army.

At the ſame time, the thundering declaration of the army was publiſhed; which declared the full reſolution " to change the whole frame of the government, and " that they would be contented with no leſs an altera- " tion;" which, as it was an argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houſes, that they might be able to bear that ſhock, ſo it was ex-

pected

pected that it would have been no leſs an argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, ſince their intereſt was no leſs threatened than his.

The commiſſioners' new propoſitions againſt Delinquents ſince Jan. 1647, and others, eſpecially the Marquis of Ormond.

The fleſh inſtances the commiſſioners made were upon ſeveral votes which had paſſed the two Houſes againſt Delinquents; and a new propoſition concerning thoſe who had engaged themſelves againſt the Parliament ſince the laſt January, and particularly againſt the Marquis of Ormond. They propoſed, "that there "ſhould be ſeven perſons, the Lord Newcaſtle, and ſix "others," (who were named), "who ſhould be excepted "from pardon, and their eſtates forfeited: that the "Delinquents, in the ſeveral claſſes mentioned in their "propoſition, ſhould pay for their compoſition, ſome a "moiety, others a third part of their eſtates, and other "rates, as they were ſet down; and that all who had "been engaged in the land or ſea ſervice ſince January "1647, ſhould pay a full year's value of their whole "eſtates more than the other Delinquents; and that "none who had been againſt the Parliament ſhould "preſume to come within either of the Courts belong-"ing to the King, Queen, or Prince, or be capable "of any office or preferment, or of ſerving in Parlia-"ment, for the ſpace of three years; and that all "clergymen who had been againſt the Parliament "ſhould be deprived of all their preferments, places, "and promotions; which ſhould be all void as if they "were naturally dead." To theſe the King anſwered, that, "to the excepting the ſeven perſons named from "pardon, and the forfeiture of their eſtates, his anſwer "was, that, if they were proceeded againſt according to "the ancient eſtabliſhed laws, and could not juſtify "and defend themſelves, he would not interpoſe on "their behalf; but he could not, in juſtice or honour,

The King's anſwer.

"join himſelf in any act for taking away the life or "eſtate of any that had adhered to him. For the rates "which were to be paid for compoſition, he referred it "to the two Houſes of Parliament, and to the perſons "themſelves, who would be contented to pay it; and "he did hope and deſire, that they might be moderately "dealt with." And for the clergymen, whoſe preferments he well knew were already diſpoſed of, and in the hands of another kind of clergy, who had deſerved ſo well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to diſpoſſeſs them, his Majeſty deſired, "that "they might be allowed a third part of what was taken "from them, till ſuch time that they, or the preſent in-"cumbents, ſhould be better provided for." As to the Marquis of Ormond, againſt whom they preſſed what they had before done with extraordinary animoſity, the King anſwered, "that ſince what he had ſaid before" (and which would bring all to paſs that they deſired) "did not give them ſatisfaction, he had written a letter," (which he delivered to them, to be ſent, and read to them), "in which he directed him to deſiſt; and ſaid, "if he refuſed to ſubmit to his command, he would "then publiſh ſuch a declaration againſt his power and "his proceedings, as they deſired."

Another prolongation of the treaty for a day, wherein they preſent two propoſitions more.

And now the ſecond limitation of time for the treaty was at an end. But that night came another vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a command to the commiſſioners to return on Thurſday morning; which was the eight and twentieth of November: and thereupon they preſented two propoſitions to his Majeſty, which were to be diſpatched that day.

One concerning Scotland.

The two propoſitions they ſent for one day's work were, the firſt, concerning Scotland; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had

had yet deſtroyed enough. For Scotland, they demanded "the King's conſent, to confirm by Act of "Parliament ſuch agreements as ſhould be made by "both Houſes with that kingdom, in the ſecurity of "ſuch thereof who had aſſiſted or adhered to thoſe of "the Parliament of England, and for the ſettling and "preſerving a happy and durable peace between the "two nations, and for the mutual defence of each "other." The King put them in mind, "that at the "beginning of the treaty they had informed him, that "their commiſſion was only to treat concerning England "and Ireland; and that they had no authority to meddle "in any thing that related to Scotland; and that they "had thereupon refuſed to receive a paper from him, "which was to preſerve the intereſt of that kingdom; "and demanded of them, whether their commiſſion "was enlarged;" which they confeſſed "was not; "and that they had preſented that paper only in obe- "dience to the order they had received." So that the King eaſily underſtood that the end was only that they might have occaſion to publiſh, "that the King had "rejected whatſoever was tendered to him on the be- "half of the kingdom of Scotland." To prevent which, he anſwered, "that as he would join in any "agreement, to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, "for the ſettling and preſerving a happy and dura- "ble peace between the two nations, and for their "mutual defence of each other under him as King of "both; ſo he would ſecure all who had been formerly "engaged with them: but for any new engagement, or "confederacy, which they would make hereafter, he "would firſt know what it was, and be adviſed with in "the making it, before he would promiſe to confirm "it." The other buſineſs with reference to the Church

To that the King's anſwer.

gave him much more trouble. The commiſſioners preſſed him "to conſider the exigence of time, and "that there was not a whole day left to determine the "fate of the kingdom; and that nothing could unite "the counſels of thoſe who wiſhed and deſired peace, "and to live happily under his ſubjection and obedi- "ence, againſt the bold attempts of the army, which "had enough declared and manifeſted what their in- "tention was, but ſatisfying the Houſes fully in what "they demanded in that particular." His own Council, and the Divines, beſought him "to conſider the "ſafety of his own perſon, even for the Church's and his "people's ſakes, who had ſome hope ſtill left whilſt he "ſhould be preſerved, which could not but be attended "with many bleſſings: whereas, if he were deſtroyed, "there was ſcarce a poſſibility to preſerve them: that "the moral and unavoidable neceſſity that lay upon "him, obliged him to do any thing that was not ſin; "and that, upon the moſt prudential thoughts which "occurred to them, the order which he, with ſo much "piety and zeal, endeavoured to preſerve, was much "more like to be deſtroyed by his not complying, than "by his ſuſpending it till his Majeſty and his two "Houſes ſhould agree upon a future government; "which, they ſaid, much differed from an abolition of "it."

The King's final anſwer.

Hereupon he gave them his final anſwer, "that after "ſuch condeſcenſions, and weighed reſolutions in the "buſineſs of the Church, he had expected not to be "farther preſſed therein; it being his judgment, and "his conſcience." He ſaid, "he could not, as he was "then informed, aboliſh epiſcopacy out of the Church; "yet, becauſe he apprehended how fatal new diſtrac- "tions might be to the kingdom, and that he believed

"his

"his two Houſes would yield to truth, if it were made "manifeſt to them, as he had always declared that he "would comply with their demands, if he were con- "vinced in his conſcience, he did therefore again deſire "a conſultation with divines in the manner he had be- "fore propoſed, and would in the mean time ſuſpend "the epiſcopal power, as well in point of ordination of "miniſters, as of juriſdiction, till he and the two "Houſes ſhould agree what government ſhould be "eſtabliſhed for the future. For biſhops' lands, he "could not conſent to the abſolute alienation of them "from the Church, but would conſent that leaſes for "lives, or years, not exceeding ninety-nine, ſhould be "made for the ſatisfaction of purchaſers or contractors;" little differing from the anſwer he had formerly given to this laſt particular: and in all the reſt he adhered to his former anſwers. And the commiſſioners, having received this his final anſwer, took their leaves, and the next morning begun their journey towards London.

The King had begun a letter to the Prince his ſon before the firſt forty days were expired, and continued it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was concluded, and finiſhed it the nine and twentieth of November, after the commiſſioners were departed, and with it ſent a very exact copy of all the papers which had paſſed in the treaty, in the order in which they were paſſed, fairly engroſſed by one of the clerks who attended. But the letter itſelf was all in his own hand, and contained above ſix ſheets of paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reaſons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make thoſe conceſſions; out of which moſt of this relation is extracted. And it is almoſt evident, that the

The ſum of the King's letter to his ſon concerning the whole treaty.

major

major part of both Houſes of Parliament was, at that time, ſo far from deſiring the execution of all thoſe conceſſions, that, if they had been able to have reſiſted the wild fury of the army, they would have been themſelves ſuitors to have declined the greateſt part of them. That which ſeemed to afflict him moſt, next what referred to the Church and Religion, and which, he ſaid, "had a large ſhare in his conſcientious conſiderations," was the hard meaſure his friends were ſubjected to; for whoſe intereſt he did verily believe he ſhould better provide in the execution of the treaty, than he had been able to do in the preliminaries. For, he ſaid, "he could not but think, that all who were willing "that he ſhould continue their King, and to live under "his government, would be far from deſiring in the "concluſion to leave ſo foul a brand upon his party, "of which they would all deſire to be accounted for "the time to come. However, he hoped that all his "friends would conſider, not what he had ſubmitted "to, but how much he had endeavoured to relieve "them from;" and conjured the Prince his ſon, "that "the leſs he had been able himſelf to do for them, the "more, if God bleſſed him, he ſhould acknowledge "and ſupply." He ſaid, "he would willingly forget in "how high degree ſome ſubjects had been diſloyal, but "never had Prince a teſtimony in others of more loyalty "than he had had; and however that God, for their "and his puniſhment, had not bleſſed ſome of their en-"deavours, yet, he ſaid, more miſguided perſons were "at laſt reduced to their loyalty, than could in any "ſtory be exampled; and that, by that, ſubjects might "learn how dangerous the neglect of ſeaſonable duty "is; and that men cannot eaſily fix when they pleaſe "what they have unneceſſarily ſhaken." The conclu-

ſion

ſion of the letter, as it was dated, the five and twentieth of November, (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional paſſages upon the enlargement of time), deſerves to be preſerved in letters of gold, and gives the beſt character of that excellent Prince; and was in theſe words.

The concluſion of that letter in the King's own words.

" By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long we have " laboured in the ſearch of peace: do not you be diſ- " heartened to tread in the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy " ways to reſtore yourſelf to your right, but prefer the " way of peace: ſhew the greatneſs of your mind, if " God bleſs you, (and let us comfort you with that " which is our own comfort, that though affliction may " make us paſs under the cenſures of men, yet we look " upon it ſo, as if it procure not, by God's mercy, to us " a deliverance, it will to you a bleſſing), rather to " conquer your enemies by pardoning, than puniſhing. " If you ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian the impla- " cable diſpoſition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid " that ſpirit. Cenſure us not for having parted with ſo " much of our own right; the price was great, but the " commodity was ſecurity to us, peace to our people: " and we were confident, another Parliament would re- " member how uſeful a King's power is to a people's " liberty; of how much thereof we diveſted ourſelf, " that we and they might meet once again in a due " parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of Prince and " people. And in this give belief to our experience, " never to affect more greatneſs or prerogative, than " that which is really and intrinſically for the good " of ſubjects, not the ſatisfaction of favourites. If you " thus uſe it, you will never want means to be a father " to all, and a bountiful Prince to any you would be

" extraordinary

" extraordinary gracious to. You may perceive all " men entruſt their treaſure where it returns them inter- " eſt; and if Princes, like the ſea, receive, and repay all " the freſh ſtreams the river entruſts with them, they " will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make them " up an ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make you as " great a Prince, as your father is now a low one; and " your State may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed, as " mine hath been ſhaken. For our ſubjects have " learned (we dare ſay) that victories over their Princes " are but triumphs over themſelves; and ſo will be " more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The " Engliſh nation are a ſober people, however at preſent " infatuated.

" We know not but this may be the laſt time we " may ſpeak to you, or the world, publickly: we are " ſenſible into what hands we are fallen; and yet, we bleſs " God, we have thoſe inward refreſhments the malice " of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned " to buſy ourſelf by retiring into ourſelf; and there- " fore can the better digeſt what befalls us; not doubt- " ing but God's providence will reſtrain our enemies' " power, and turn their fierceneſs to his praiſe.

" To conclude, if God gives you ſucceſs, uſe it " humbly and far from revenge. If he reſtore you to " your right upon hard conditions, whatever you pro- " miſe, keep. Theſe men, who have forced laws, which " they were bound to preſerve, will find their triumphs " full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this " world worth the obtaining by foul and unjuſt means.

" You are the ſon of our love, and as we direct you " to weigh what we here recommend to you, ſo we " aſſure you, we do not more affectionately pray for " you, (to whom we are a natural parent), than we do,

" that

" that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be " not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and " that all our ſubjects (to whom we are a politic pa- " rent) may have ſuch ſober thoughts, as to ſeek their " peace in the orthodox profeſſion of the Chriſtian re- " ligion, as was eſtabliſhed ſince the reformation in this " kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the " ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the " known practice, may once again be a hedge about " them: that you may in due time govern, and they " be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the " prayer of

" Your very loving father, *C. R.*"

Newport, 25th Nov. 1648.

Whilſt the treaty laſted, it was believed that his Majeſty might have made his eſcape; which moſt men who wiſhed him well thought in all reſpects ought to have been attempted; and before the treaty, he himſelf was inclined to it, thinking any liberty preferable to the reſtraint he had endured. But he did receive ſome diſcouragement from purſuing that purpoſe, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful ſome perſons in France were that he ſhould have made his eſcape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderneſs of his ſafety, but from the apprehenſion they had, that the little reſpect they would have ſhewed him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could ſuffer by the cloſeſt impriſonment. And ſure there was, at that time, no court in Chriſtendom ſo honourably or generouſly conſtituted, that it would have been glad to have ſeen him; and it might

be

be ſome reaſon that they who wiſhed him very well did not wiſh his eſcape, becauſe they believed impriſonment was the worſt his worſt enemies intended towards him; ſince they might that way more reaſonably found and ſettle their republican government; which men could not ſo prudently propoſe to bring to paſs by a murder; which, in the inſtant, gave the juſt title to another who was at liberty to claim his right, and to diſpute it: I ſay, before the treaty, and after the votes and declarations of no more addreſſes, when his treatment was ſo barbarous, his Majeſty had propoſed to himſelf to make an eſcape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but ſuch perſons who were placed by thoſe who wiſhed worſt to his ſafety; and therefore choſe ſuch inſtruments as they thought to be of their own principles. Amongſt thoſe there was a young man, one Oſborne, by extraction a gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord Wharton (one who deſerved not to be ſuſpected by Cromwell himſelf) to Colonel Hammond, to be placed in ſome near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitneſs of the man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman Uſher; which gave him opportunity to be almoſt always in the preſence of the King. This young man, after ſome months' attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's carriage, and the great affability he uſed towards thoſe who were always about him, to have a tenderneſs and loyal ſenſe of his ſufferings; and did really deſire to do him any ſervice that might be acceptable. By his office of Gentleman Uſher he uſually held the King's gloves when he was at meat, and firſt took that opportunity to put a little billet, in which he expreſſed his devotion, into one of the fingers of his glove. The

King

King was not forward to be credulous of the profeſſions of a perſon he knew ſo little, and who, he knew, would not be ſuffered to be about him, if he were thought to have thoſe inclinations. However, after longer obſervation, and ſometimes ſpeaking to him whilſt he was walking amongſt others in the garden allowed for that purpoſe, his Majeſty begun to believe that there was ſincerity in him; and ſo frequently put ſome memorial into fingers of his glove, and by the ſame expedient received advertiſement from him.

There was in the garriſon one Rolph, a captain of a foot company, whom Cromwell placed there as a prime confident, a fellow of a low extraction, and very ordinary parts; who, from a common ſoldier, had been truſted in all the intrigues of the army, and was one of the agitators inſpired by Cromwell to put any thing into the ſoldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence, and could not contain himſelf from ſpeaking maliciouſly and wickedly againſt the King, when diſſimulation was at the higheſt amongſt the great officers. This man grew into great familiarity with Oſborne, and knowing from what perſon he came recommended to that truſt, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and ſo, according to his cuſtom of reviling the King, he wiſhed "he "were out of the world; for they ſhould never make "any ſettlement whilſt he was alive. He ſaid, he was "ſure the army wiſhed him dead, and that Hammond "had received many letters from the army to take him "away by poiſon, or any other way; but he ſaw it "would never be done in that place; and therefore, if "he would join with him, they would get him from "thence; and then the work would eaſily be done." Oſborne aſked him, "how it could be poſſible to re-

"move

" move him from thence, without Hammond's or the " King's own conſent?" Rolph anſwered, " that the " King might be decoyed from thence, as he was from " Hampton Court, by ſome letters from his friends, of " ſome danger that threatened him, upon which he " would be willing to make an eſcape; and then he " might eaſily be diſpatched." Oſborne ſhortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

An attempt for the King's eſcape.

The King bid him " continue his familiarity with " Rolph, and to promiſe to join with him in contriving " how his Majeſty ſhould make an eſcape;" and he hoped thereby to make Rolph's villainy the means of getting away. He recommended one of the common ſoldiers to Oſborne, " who, he ſaid, he thought, might " be truſted;" and wiſhed him " to truſt one Doucet;" whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back ſtairs, and was indeed an honeſt man; for it was impoſſible for him to make an eſcape, without the privity of ſuch perſons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the caſtle, as well as help him from thence. Oſborne told Rolph, " he was confident he ſhould in the end per- " ſuade the King to attempt an eſcape, though he yet " ſeemed jealous and apprehenſive of being diſcovered, " and taken again." Doucet concurred very willingly in it, and the ſoldier who was choſen by the King proved likewiſe very honeſt, and wrought upon one or two of his companions who uſed to ſtand ſentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a file and ſaw; with which he had, with wonderful trouble, ſawed an iron bar in the window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readineſs, the night was appointed, and Oſborne at the place where he was to receive

ceive the King. But one of the ſoldiers informed Rolph of more particulars than Oſborne had done; by which he concluded that he was falſe, and directed the ſoldier to proceed, and ſtand ſentinel in the ſame place to which he had been aſſigned; and he, and ſome others truſted by him, were armed, and ſtood very near with their piſtols. At midnight the King came to the window, reſolving to go out; but as he was putting himſelf out, he diſcerned more perſons to ſtand thereabout than uſed to do, and thereupon ſuſpected that there was ſome diſcovery made; and ſo ſhut the window, and retired to his bed. And this was all the ground of a diſcourſe, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the window, and could neither draw his body after, nor get his head back, and ſo was compelled to call out for help; which was a mere fiction.

Rolph acquainted Hammond with what the King had deſigned; who preſently went into his chamber, and found the King in his bed, but the bar of the window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and preſently ſeized upon Doucet, but could not apprehend Oſborne; who was either fled out of the iſland, or concealed in it that he could not be found. Rolph could not forbear to inſult upon Doucet in priſon, and ſcornfully aſked him, "why his "King came not forth when he was at the window?" and ſaid, "he was ready with a good piſtol charged to "have received him." When Oſborne had got into a place of preſent ſafety, he writ a letter to his patron the Lord Wharton, informing him of the whole matter; and deſired him, "to acquaint the Houſe of Peers of "the deſign upon the King's life, and that he would be "ready to appear and juſtify the conſpiracy." That Lord, after he had kept the letter ſome time, ſent it to

Oſborne accuſes Rolph for a deſign upon the King's life.

Hammond, as the fitteſt perſon to examine the truth of the relation. Oſborne was not diſcouraged with all this; but ſent two letters to the Speakers of both Houſes, and incloſed the letter he had formerly writ to the Lord Wharton. In the Houſe of Commons the information was ſlighted, and laid aſide; but it made more impreſſion upon the Houſe of Peers; who ſent, with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, to the Commons, "that Rolph might "be ſent for, and a ſafe-guard for forty days to Oſborne "to appear, and proſecute."

Rolph brought with him a large teſtimonial from Hammond of "his integrity, and of the many good "ſervices he had done to the State." Oſborne appeared likewiſe at the Lords' bar, and made good upon oath all that is before ſet down, and undertook to produce other evidence. The Houſe of Commons had no mind to have it examined farther; but the clamour of the people was ſo great, that, after many delays, they voted "that "it ſhould be tried at the general aſſizes at Wincheſter." And thither they ſent their well-tried Serjeant Wild, to be the ſole Judge of that circuit: before whom the major part of the ſame jury that had found Captain Burley guilty was impannelled for the trial of Rolph. Oſborne, and Doucet, who upon bail had liberty to be there, appeared to make good the indictment; and, upon their oaths, declared all that Rolph had ſaid to them, as is ſet down before. The priſoner, if he may be called a priſoner who was under no reſtraint, had two lawyers aſſigned to be of council with him, contrary to the law and cuſtom in thoſe caſes: but he needed not to have had any council but the Judge himſelf; who told the jury, "that it was a buſineſs of great importance "that was before them; and therefore that they ſhould "take heed what they did in it: that there was a time "indeed

"indeed when intentions and words were treaſon, but "God forbid it ſhould be ſo now: how did any body "know but that thoſe two men, Oſborne and Doucet, "would have made away the King, and that Rolph "charged his piſtol to preſerve him? or, perhaps they "would have carried him away to have engaged them "in a ſecond war." He told them, "they were miſ- "taken who did believe the King in priſon; the Parlia- "ment did only keep him ſafe to ſave the ſhedding of "more blood." Upon theſe good directions, the grand jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill; and this was ſome little time before the treaty.

The commiſſioners' report of the treaty to the Parliament.

When the commiſſioners, who had treated with the King at the Iſle of Wight, were returned to the Parliament, their report took up many days in the Houſe of Commons, where the reſolution was firſt to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely preſuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The queſtion upon the whole was, "whether the anſwer "that the King had made to their propoſitions was ſa- "tisfactory?" which was debated with all the virulence and acrimony towards each other, that can fall from men ſo poſſeſſed as both ſides were.

A long and ſharp debate upon it.

Sir Harry Vane's ſpeech concerning it.

Young Sir Harry Vane had begun the debate with the higheſt inſolence and provocation; telling them, "that they ſhould that day know and diſcover, who "were their friends, and who were their foes; or, that "he might ſpeak more plainly, who were the King's "party in the Houſe, and who were for the people;" and ſo proceeded with his uſual grave bitterneſs againſt the perſon of the King, and the government that had been too long ſettled; put them in mind, "that they "had been diverted from their old ſettled reſolution and "declaration, that they would make no more addreſſes

" to the King; after which the kingdom had been go-
" verned in great peace, and begun to taſte the ſweet of
" that republican government which they intended and
" begun to eſtabliſh, when, by a combination between
" the city of London and an ill affected party in Scot-
" land, with ſome ſmall contemptible inſurrections in
" England, all which were fomented by the city, the
" Houſes had, by clamour and noiſe, been induced and
" compelled to reverſe their former votes and reſolution,
" and enter into a perſonal treaty with the King; with
" whom they had not been able to prevail, notwith-
" ſtanding the low condition he was in, to give them
" any ſecurity; but he had ſtill reſerved a power in
" himſelf, or at leaſt to his poſterity, to exerciſe as ty-
" rannical a government as he had done: that all the
" inſurrections, which had ſo terrified them, were now
" totally ſubdued; and the principal authors and abet-
" tors of them in their cuſtody, and ready to be brought
" to juſtice, if they pleaſed to direct, and appoint it:
" that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that
" kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good corre-
" ſpondence with their brethren, the Parliament of Eng-
" land; ſo that there was nothing wanting, but their
" own conſent and reſolution, to make themſelves the
" happieſt nation and people in the world; and to that
" purpoſe deſired, that they might, without any more
" loſs of time, return to their former reſolution of mak-
" ing no more addreſſes to the King; but proceed to
" the ſettling the government without him, and to the
" ſevere puniſhment of thoſe who had diſturbed their
" peace and quiet, in ſuch an exemplary manner, as
" might terrify all other men for the future from mak-
" ing the like bold attempts: which, he told them, they
" might ſee would be moſt grateful to their army, which

" had

" had merited ſo much from them by the remonſtrance " they had ſo lately publiſhed."

This diſcourſe appeared to be exceedingly diſliked, by that kind of murmur which uſually ſhews how the Houſe ſtands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there, of the ſucceſs that is like to be. And his preface, and entrance into the debate, were taken notice of with equal ſharpneſs; and, " his preſumption in tak- " ing upon himſelf to divide the Houſe, and to cenſure " their affections to the public, as their ſenſe and judg- " ment ſhould agree, or diſagree, with his own." One ſaid, " that ſince he had, without example, taken ſo " much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the con- " trary was aſſumed by other men; and that it was as " lawful for another man, who ſaid he was no gainer by " the troubles, to make another diviſion of the Houſe, " and to ſay, that they ſhould find in the debate of that " day that there were ſome who were deſirous of peace; " and that they were all loſers, or, at leaſt, no gainers " by the war; and that others were againſt peace; and " that they by the war had gained large revenues, and " great ſums of money, and much wealth; and there- " fore his motion was, that the gainers might contri- " bute to the loſers, if they would not conſent that the " one might enjoy what was left, and the other poſſeſs " what they had got, by a peace that might be happy " for both."

Whilſt this was debating in the Houſe, which continued ſeveral days, ſix officers, from the head quarters at Windſor, whither the army had been brought before, or at the time when the treaty ended at the Iſle of Wight, brought their large remonſtrance to the Houſe; in which they deſired, " that there might be no " farther proceedings upon the treaty; but that they

" would return to their former determination of no " farther addreſſes, and make what haſte they could in " ſettling the government: that the bargaining propoſi- " tion on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only " upon a contract with the King, and not in any judi- " cial way, might be laid aſide, and that public juſtice " might be done upon the principal actors in the late " troubles, and that others, upon a true ſubmiſſion, " might find mercy: that a peremptory day might be " ſet, when the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York " ſhould be required to appear; which if they ſhould " not do, they ſhould ſtand exiled as traitors; and if " they ſhould appear, yet they ſhould be bound to " make ſome ſatisfaction: that an end might be put to " this Parliament, and a new repreſentative choſen of " the people, for the governing and preſerving the " whole body of the nation. That no King might be " hereafter admitted but upon election of the people, " and as upon truſt for the people, who ſhould be like- " wiſe limited and reſtrained by the repreſentative;" with many other impracticable particulars, which troubled the Parliament the leſs for their incoherence, and impoſſibility to be reduced into practice.

The King taken from Carisbrook caſtle, and carried to Hurſt caſtle.

But that which troubled moſt, and indeed which awakened them to the moſt diſmal apprehenſions, was, that they were advertiſed, that the King was taken away from Carisbrook caſtle by an officer of the army, and carried to Hurſt caſtle, not far from the other, but ſituated on the main land, and in ſo vile and unwholeſome an air, that the common guards there uſed to be frequently changed for the preſervation of their health. Colonel Hammond had, before the expiration of the treaty, writ many letters to the Parliament, to be diſcharged from that government, and from the care of the King's

King's perſon; and the officers of the army ſeemed wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himſelf looked upon as under a cloud. But the treaty was no ſooner ended, (and before the commiſſioners begun their report to the Houſes), but he was diſcharged of the truſt of the perſon of the King, and another colonel ſent to take the perſon of the King, and to carry him to Hurſt caſtle.

This news being brought when they were in the heat of the debate upon the King's anſwer, they gave over that conteſt, and immediately voted, "that the ſeizing "upon the King's perſon, and carrying him priſoner to "Hurſt caſtle, was without their advice and conſent:" which vote had little contradiction, becauſe no man would own the advice. Then they cauſed a letter to be written to the General, "that the orders and inſtructions "to Colonel Ewre" (the officer who had ſeized the King) "were contrary to their reſolutions, and inſtructions to "Colonel Hammond; and therefore, that it was the "pleaſure of the Houſe, that he ſhould recall thoſe "orders; and that Colonel Hammond ſhould again re-"ſume the care of the King's perſon." But the General, without taking any notice of their complaint, or of their command, demanded the payment of the arrears due to the army; and told them, "that, unleſs there "were preſent money ſent to that purpoſe, he ſhould "be forced to remove the army, and to draw them "nearer to London." And at the ſame time a new declaration was ſent to the Houſe from the army, in purſuance of their late remonſtrance; which the Houſe refuſed to take into conſideration; and ſome ſturdy members moved, "that the army might be declared "traitors, if they preſumed to march nearer London "than they were at preſent; and that an impeachment

Vote of the Houſe of Commons thereupon.

" of high treaſon might be drawn up againſt the princi-
The General marches for London. " pal officers of it." Hereupon, the General marches directly for London, and quarters at Whitehall; the other officers, with their troops, in Durham Houſe, the Mews, Covent Garden, Weſtminſter, and St. James's; and for the preſent neceſſity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they ſent to the city without delay to ſupply forty thouſand pounds, to be immediately iſſued out to ſatisfy the army. Notwithſtanding all which monſtrous proceeding, the Houſe of Commons retained its courage, and were reſolute " to aſſert the treaty; and " that the King's anſwers were ſatisfactory; or if they " were not fully ſatisfactory, that the Houſe might " and ought to accept thereof, and proceed to the ſet-" tlement of peace in Church and State, rather than " to reject them as unſatisfactory, and thereby continue " the kingdom in war and diſtraction."

They who vehemently preſſed this concluſion, and would be thought to be for the King, to make themſelves popular, took upon them to make all the invectives both againſt the King, and all the time of his government, that his bittereſt enemies could do, only that they might ſhew how much the conceſſions he had now granted had provided remedies for all thoſe evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happineſs and peace to be in the no-power they had left him in: ſo that if he ſhould have a mind to continue the diſtractions to-morrow, he would find nobody ready ever to join with him, having at this time ſacrificed all his friends to the mercy of their mortal enemies. In concluſion, and when they had proſecuted the debate moſt part of the night, till almoſt five of the clock in the morning, on Monday night, they had firſt put the queſtion, " whe-" ther the queſtion ſhould be put?" and carried it by a hundred

hundred and forty voices againſt one hundred and four: the main queſtion, "That the anſwer of the King to "the propoſitions of both Houſes was a ground for the "Houſes to proceed upon for the ſettlement of the peace "of the kingdom," was ſo clearly voted, that the Houſe was not divided; and, that there might be no after-claps, they appointed a committee "to confer with the "General, for the better procuring a good intelligence "and correſpondence between the army and the Par-"liament;" and then they adjourned the Houſe to Wedneſday morning, it being then near the morning of Tueſday.

Vote "that "the King's "anſwer "was a "ground "for "peace."

The committee that was appointed to confer with the General waited that afternoon upon him in his lodging at Whitehall, that they might be able to give ſome account to the Houſe the next morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his preſence; and then he told them ſullenly and ſuperciliouſly, "that the way to cor-"reſpond with the army, was to comply with their re-"monſtrance:" and the next morning there was a guard of muſqueteers placed at the entry into and door of the Houſe, and the officers thereof having a liſt in their hands of the names of thoſe who ſhould be reſtrained from going into the Houſe, all thoſe were ſtopped, one by one, as they came, and ſent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithſtanding which, there were ſo many of the ſame opinion got into the Houſe, through the inadvertency of the guard, or becauſe they meant only to ſequeſter the moſt notorious and refractory perſons, that the debate, upon reſuming the ſame queſtion, continued very long; ſeveral members who obſerved the

Many of the members entering into the Houſe ſeized upon by the ſoldiers.

force

force at the entrance of the Houſe, and ſaw their companions not ſuffered to come in, complained loudly of the violence and breach of privilege, and demanded remedy; but in vain; the Houſe would take no notice of it. In the concluſion, after a very long debate, the major part of thoſe who were preſent in the Houſe voted the negative to what had been ſettled in the former debate, and "that the anſwer the King had "given to their propoſitions was not ſatisfactory."

The remaining members vote the contrary to former votes.

Thoſe gentlemen who for ſome hours had been reſtrained in the Court of Wards were afterwards led in triumph through Weſtminſter-hall, (except ſome few, who were ſuffered for affection, or by negligence, to go away), by a ſtrong guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleaſed. And here they were kept in one room, till after twelve of the clock in the night; after which hour, in reſpect of the extreme cold weather, and the age of many of the members, they were carried to ſeveral inns; where they were ſuffered to lodge as priſoners, and remained under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they publiſhed a proteſtation in print againſt the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, declaring "the force and violence that had been uſed "againſt them:" and then the Houſe, with the remaining members, having determined what they thought fit, moſt of the other were at liberty to do what they pleaſed. Nobody owned this act of violence in the excluſion of ſo many members: there was no order made for it by the Houſe. Fairfax the General knew nothing of it, and the guards themſelves being aſked "what authority they had," gave no other anſwer "but "that they had orders." But afterwards there was a full

full and clear order of the Houſe, without taking notice of any excluſion, "that none of them who had not "been preſent that day when the negative vote pre- "vailed ſhould ſit any more in the Houſe, before they "had firſt ſubſcribed the ſame vote, as agreeable to their "judgments; which if they ſubſcribed, they were as "well qualified members as before." Many of theſe excluded members, out of conſcience or indignation, forbore coming any more to the Houſe for many years; ſome, not before the Revolution; others, ſooner or later, returned to their old ſeats, that they might not be idle when ſo much buſineſs was to be done.

Vote, "that "thoſe "who were "abſent at "the nega- "tive vote "ſhould ſit "no more "in the "Houſe."

Then the Houſe renewed their old votes of no more addreſſes, and annulled and made void all thoſe which introduced the treaty: and, that they might find no more ſuch contradiction hereafter, they committed to ſeveral priſons Major General Brown, (though he was then Sheriff of London), Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Major General Maſſey, and Commiſſary General Copley, who were the moſt active members in the Houſe of the Preſbyterian party, and who had all as maliciouſly advanced the ſervice of the Parliament in their ſeveral ſtations againſt the King as any men of their rank in the kingdom, and much more than any officer of the preſent army had then credit to do: of theſe, Maſſey made his eſcape, and tranſported himſelf into Holland; and there, according to the natural modeſty of that ſect, preſented himſelf to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a ſufferer for the King his father) as if he had defended Colcheſter.

Vote of no more addreſſes renewed.

The proteſtation that the ſecluded members had publiſhed and cauſed to be printed, with the narrative of the violence that had been exerciſed upon them, and their declaring all acts to be void which from that time had

The proteſtation of the ſecluded members.

had been done in the Houſe of Commons, made a great noiſe over the kingdom, and no leſs incenſed thoſe who remained and ſate in the Houſe, than it did the officers of the army; and therefore, to leſſen the credit of it, the Houſe likewiſe made a declaration againſt that proteſtation; and declared it "to be falſe, ſcandalous, and "ſeditious, and tending to the deſtruction of the viſible "and fundamental government of the kingdom;" and to this wonderful declaration they obtained the concurrence of the ſmall Houſe of Peers, and jointly ordained, "that that proteſtation ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and that "no man ſhould preſume to ſell, or buy, or to read the "ſame."

Voted againſt by both Houſes.

When they had in this manner maſtered all contradiction and oppoſition, they begun more directly to conſult what they were to do, as well as what they were not to do, and to eſtabliſh ſome affirmative concluſions, as they had done negatives. They were told, "that it was "high time to ſettle ſome form of government, under "which the nation was to live: there had been much "treaſure and blood ſpent to recover the liberty of the "people, which would be to no purpoſe if there were "not proviſion made for their ſecure enjoying it; and "there would be always the ſame attempts made, which "had been of late, to diſturb and to deſtroy the public "peace, if there were not ſuch exemplary penalties in-"flicted, as might terrify all men, of what condition "ſoever, from entering upon ſuch deſperate undertak-"ings." They reſolved to gratify the army, by taking a view of a paper formerly digeſted by them as a model for a new government, which was called *the Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publiſhing whereof, one of the Agitators had been, by Cromwell's directions, the year before, ſhot to death, when he found the Parliament

Votes of the Houſe of Commons.

liament was ſo much offended with it. They declared now, as the moſt popular thing they could do to pleaſe both the people and the army, "that they would put "an end to the Parliament on the laſt day of April "next; and that there ſhould be a repreſentative of the "nation, conſiſting of three hundred perſons choſen by "the people; of which, for the term of ſeven years, no "perſon who had adhered to the King, or who ſhould "oppoſe this agreement, or not ſubſcribe thereunto, "ſhould be capable of being choſen to be one, or to "have a voice in the election; and that, before that "time, and before the diſſolution of the preſent Parlia-"ment, it would be neceſſary to bring thoſe ſignal De-"linquents, who had lately diſturbed the quiet and "peace of the kingdom, and put it to ſo great an ex-"pence of blood and treaſure, to exemplary puniſh-"ment." And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "that they ought to begin with him "who had been the cauſe of all the miſeries, and miſ-"chiefs, which had befallen the kingdom, and whom "they had already diveſted of all power and authority "to govern them for the future; and they had had "near two years' experience, that the nation might be "very happily governed without any recourſe to him: "that they had already declared, and the Houſe of "Peers had concurred with them, that the King had "been the cauſe of all the blood which had been "ſpilt; and therefore, that it was fit that ſuch a man "of blood ſhould be brought to juſtice, that he might "undergo the penalty that was due to his tyranny and "murders: that the people expected this at their hands; "and that having the principal malefactor in their power, "he might not eſcape the puniſhment that was due to "him."

How

How new and monſtrous ſoever this language and diſcourſe was to all Engliſh ears, they found a major part ſtill to concur with them: ſo that they appointed a committee for the preſent "to prepare a charge of high "treaſon againſt the King, which ſhould contain the "ſeveral crimes and miſdemeanors of his reign; which "being made, they would conſider of the beſt way and "manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to "juſtice."

A committee appointed by them to prepare a charge againſt the King.

This manner of proceeding in England was ſo unheard of, that it was very hard for any body to propoſe any way to oppoſe it that might carry with it any hope of ſucceſs. However, the pain the Prince was in would not ſuffer him to reſt without making ſome effort. He knew too well how far the States of Holland were from wiſhing that ſucceſs and honour to the Crown of England, as it had deſerved from them, and how much they had always favoured the rebellion; that his own preſence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were deviſing all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believed the way they were now upon in England would be ſo univerſally odious to all Chriſtians, that no body of men would appear to favour it. His Highneſs therefore ſent to the States General, to deſire them "to give him an audience the next day; "and that he would come to the place where they "ſate;" which he did, being met by the whole body at the bottom of the ſtairs, and conducted into the room where they ſate.

The Prince of Wales deſires the States to intercede with the two Houſes.

The Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had ſaid a little to the States of compliment, he referred them to a paper which Sir William Boſwell, the King's Reſident there, was to deliver to them. The paper deſcribed the ill condition the King his

his father was in; and the threats and menaces which his enemies uſed to proceed againſt him in ſuch a manner as muſt be abominated by all Chriſtians, and which would bring the greateſt reproach and obloquy upon the Proteſtant religion, that ever Chriſtianity had undergone: and therefore deſired them, "that they would "interpoſe their credit, and authority, in ſuch a manner "as they thought fit, with the two Houſes at Weſt-"minſter, that, inſtead of ſuch an unlawful and wicked "proſecution, they would enter into terms of accommo-"dation with his royal father; for the obſervation where-"of his Royal Highneſs would become bound."

The States aſſured his Highneſs, "that they were "very much afflicted at the condition of the King, and "would be glad any interpoſition of theirs might be "able to relieve him; that they would ſeriouſly con-"ſider in what manner they might ſerve him." And, that day, they reſolved to ſend an extraordinary ambaſſador into England, who ſhould repair to the Prince of Wales, and receive his inſtructions to what friends of the King's he ſhould reſort, and conſult with; who, being upon the place, might beſt inform him to whom to apply himſelf. And they made choice of Paw, the penſioner of Holland, for their ambaſſador; who immediately attended the Prince with the offer of his ſervice, and many profeſſions of his deſire that his journey might produce ſome good effect. Their anſwer.

The Council that was about the Prince had looked upon Paw as a man that had always favoured the rebellion in England, and as much obſtructed all civilities from the States towards the King, as was poſſible for him to do; and therefore they were very ſorry that he was made choice of for ambaſſador in ſuch a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of Orange aſſured the Prince, "that

" that he had uſed all his credit to compaſs that elec-
" tion; that he was the wiſeſt man of their body; and
" that neither he, nor any of the reſt, who had cheriſhed
" the Engliſh rebellion more than he, ever deſired it
" ſhould proſper to that degree it had done, as to en-
" danger the changing the government;" and there-
fore wiſhed " there might not appear any diſtruſt of
" him, but that the Prince would treat him with con-
" fidence, and ſome of the Council would confer with
" him with freedom, upon any particulars which it would
" be neceſſary for him to be inſtructed in." But the
wiſdom of angels was not ſufficient to give any effectual
advice for ſuch a negociation, ſince the States could not
be brought ſo much to intereſt themſelves, as to uſe any
menaces to the Parliament as if they would embark
themſelves in the quarrel. So that the Council could
only wiſh, " that the ambaſſador would confer with
" ſuch of the King's friends who were then at London,
" and whoſe relation had been moſt eminent towards his
" Majeſty; and receive advice from them, how he
" might moſt hopefully prevail over particular men, and
" thereby with the Parliament." And ſo the ambaſſa-
dor departed for England, within leſs than a week after
he was nominated for the employment.

They ſend an ambaſſador into England.

At the ſame time, the Queen of England, being
ſtruck to the heart with amazement and confuſion upon
the report of what the Parliament intended, ſent a paper
to the agent who was employed there by the Cardinal
to keep a good correſpondence; which ſhe obliged him
to deliver to the Parliament. The paper contained a
very paſſionate lamentation of the ſad condition the
King her huſband was in; deſiring " that they would
" grant her a paſs to come over to him, offering to uſe
" all the credit ſhe had with him, that he might give
" them

The Queen ſent a paper to be delivered to the Parliament; but it was laid aſide.

"them ſatisfaction. However, if they would not give "her leave to perform any of thoſe offices towards the "public, that ſhe might be permitted to perform the "duty ſhe owed him, and to be near him in the utter-"moſt extremity." Neither of theſe addreſſes did more than expreſs the zeal of thoſe who procured them to be made: the ambaſſador Paw could neither get leave to ſee the King, (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himſelf be inſtructed beſt what to do), nor be admitted to an audience by the Parliament, till after the tragedy was acted: and the Queen's paper was delivered, and never conſidered in order to return any anſwer to it.

When the committee had prepared ſuch a charge, which they called "an impeachment of high treaſon "againſt Charles Stewart, King of England," digeſted into ſeveral articles, which contained all thoſe calumnies they had formerly heaped up in that declaration of no more addreſſes to be made to him, with ſome additional reproaches, it was read in the Houſe; and, after it was approved there, they ſent it to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence. That Houſe had very little to do from the time that Cromwell returned from Scotland, and were few in number, and uſed to adjourn for two or three days together for want of buſineſs; ſo that it was believed, that they who had done ſo many extravagant things, rather than they would diſſent from the Houſe of Commons, would likewiſe concur with them in this, rather than ſever from them when they were ſo triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was ſo ill received, that there was not one perſon who concurred with them; which, conſidering the men and what moſt of them had done, might ſeem very ſtrange. And

The charge againſt the King approved by the Commons.

Rejected by the Lords, who adjourned for a week.

when they had, with ſome warmth, rejected it, they adjourned for a week; preſuming they ſhould thereby at leaſt give ſome interruption to that career which the Houſe of Commons was upon, and, in that time, ſome expedient might be found to reconcile the proceedings in both Houſes. But they were as much deceived in this; the Houſe of Commons was very well pleaſed with it, and thought they had given them eaſe, which they could not ſo well have contrived for themſelves. So they proceeded in their own method, and when the day came to which the Lords had adjourned their Houſe, they found their doors all locked, and faſtened with padlocks, that there ſhould then be no more entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after ſit in that Houſe as Peers above twice or thrice at moſt, till Cromwell, long after, endeavoured in vain to have erected a Houſe of Peers of his own creation; in which ſome of them then very willingly took their places.

The door of their Houſe locked up againſt the day to which they had adjourned.

The charge and accuſation, upon which they reſolved to proceed againſt the King, being thus ſettled and agreed upon, they begun to conſider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be ſome appearance of juſtice. Nothing could be found in the common or ſtatute law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the precedent of depoſing Richard the Second (the ſole precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpoſe: for, how foul ſoever the circumſtances precedent had been, he had made a reſignation of his royalty before the Lords in Parliament; ſo that his depoſition proceeded from himſelf, and with his own conſent, and would not agree in any particular with the caſe in queſtion. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They conſtituted

ſtituted and erected a court that ſhould be called "*the* "*High Court of Juſtice*, to conſiſt of ſo many judges, "who ſhould have authority to try the King, whether "he were guilty of what he was accuſed of, or no; and, "in order thereunto, to examine ſuch witneſſes as ſhould "be produced:" the number of the judges named was about an hundred and fifty, whereof the major part might proceed. The Commons conſtitute a High Court of Juſtice.

They could not have found ſuch a number yet amongſt themſelves, after ſo many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this laſt tragical act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they ſhould make only their own members to be judges in this caſe, they might appear in the eyes of the people to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintained a war, though defenſive, as they pretended, againſt the King, and ſo not ſo fit to be the only judges who were in the fault: on the other hand, if they ſhould name none of themſelves, it might be interpreted that they looked upon it as too dangerous a province to engage themſelves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would diſcourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they reſolved, that the judges ſhould be nominated promiſcuouſly, as well of members of the Houſe, as of ſuch other of their good and godly men in the kingdom. Whoſoever would not be one himſelf when named, as there were yet many amongſt them, who, out of conſcience, or of fear, utterly proteſted againſt it, ſhould take upon him to name another man; which ſure he could not but think was equally unlawful: ſo that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the province themſelves.

All the chief officers of the army were named, and

divers accepted the office; and ſuch aldermen and citizens of London, as had been moſt violent againſt peace, and ſome few country gentlemen, whoſe zeal had been taken notice of for the cauſe, and who were like to take ſuch a preferment as a teſtimony of the Parliament's confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When ſuch a number of men were nominated as were thought in all reſpects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a ſpeaker, or prolocutor, who ſhould be called Lord Preſident of that High Court, who muſt manage and govern all the proceedings there, aſk the witneſſes all proper queſtions, and anſwer what the priſoner ſhould propoſe. And to that office one Bradſhaw was choſen, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, not much known in Weſtminſter-hall, though of good practice in his chamber, and much employed by the factious. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, but of a fortune of his own making. He was not without parts, and of great inſolence and ambition. When he was firſt nominated, he ſeemed much ſurpriſed, and very reſolute to refuſe it; which he did in ſuch a manner, and ſo much enlarging upon his own want of abilities to undergo ſo important a charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that apology. And when he was preſſed with more importunity than could have been uſed by chance, he required "time to conſider of it;" and ſaid, "he "would then give his final anſwer;" which he did the next day; and with great humility accepted the office, which he adminiſtered with all the pride, impudence, and ſupercilioufneſs imaginable. He was preſently inveſted in great ſtate, and many officers and a guard aſſigned for the ſecurity of his perſon, and the Dean's houſe at Weſtminſter given to him for ever for his reſidence

Bradſhaw made Lord Preſident.

Lawyers and other officers appointed.

ſidence and habitation, and a good ſum of money, about five thouſand pounds, was appointed to be preſently paid to him, to put himſelf in ſuch an equipage and way of living, as the dignity of the office which he held would require. And now, the Lord Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice ſeemed to be the greateſt magiſtrate in England. And though it was not thought ſeaſonable to make any ſuch declaration, yet ſome of thoſe whoſe opinions grew quickly into ordinances, upon ſeveral occaſions, declared, "that they believed "that office was not to be looked upon as neceſſary "*pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that he "who executed it deſerved to have an ample and a "liberal eſtate conferred upon him for ever:" which ſudden mutation and exaltation of fortune could not but make a great impreſſion upon a vulgar ſpirit, accuſtomed to no exceſſes, and acquainted only with a very moderate fortune. All this being done, they made choice of ſome lawyers (till that time very obſcure, and men ſcarce known or heard of in their profeſſion) to perform the offices of Attorney General, and Solicitor General for the State, to proſecute the priſoner at his trial, and to manage the evidence againſt him. Other officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the ſeveral offices of their new court; which was ordered to be erected in Weſtminſter-hall,

The King was now ſent for from Hurſt caſtle, and was received by Colonel Harriſon with a ſtrong party of horſe; by whom he was to be conducted to Windſor caſtle. Harriſon was the ſon of a butcher near Nantwich in Cheſhire, and had been bred up in the place of a clerk under a lawyer of good account in thoſe parts; which kind of education introduces men into the language and practice of buſineſs, and, if it be not reſiſted

The King ſent for from Hurſt caſtle by Harriſon.

The character of Harriſon.

by the great ingenuity of the perſon, inclines young men to more pride than any other kind of breeding; and diſpoſes them to be pragmatical and inſolent, though they have the ſkill to conceal it from their maſters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cheriſh it. When the rebellion firſt began, this man quitted his maſter, (who had relation to the King's ſervice, and diſcharged his duty faithfully), and put himſelf into the Parliament army; where, having firſt obtained the office of a cornet, he got up, by diligence and ſobriety, to the ſtate of a captain, without any ſignal notice taken of him till the new model of the army; when Cromwell, who, poſſibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a ſpirit and diſpoſition fit for his ſervice, much given to prayer and to preaching, and, otherwiſe, of an underſtanding capable to be truſted in any buſineſs; to which his clerkſhip contributed very much: and then he was preferred very faſt; ſo that, by the time the King was brought to the army, he had been a colonel of horſe, and looked upon as inferior to few, after Cromwell and Ireton, in the Council of Officers and in the government of the Agitators; and there were few men with whom Cromwell more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of any thing committed to him. He received the King with outward reſpect, kept himſelf bare; but attended him with great ſtrictneſs; and was not to be approached by any addreſs; anſwering queſtions in ſhort and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeneſs. He manifeſted an apprehenſion that the King had ſome thought of making an eſcape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at Windſor, and ſo to paſs by Bagſhot, the King expreſſed a deſire to ſee his little park at Bagſhot, and ſo to dine at the Lodge there, a place where

where he had uſed to take much pleaſure; and did not diſſemble the knowing that the Lord Newburgh, who had lately married the Lady Aubigney, lived there; and ſaid, "he would ſend a ſervant to let that lady know "that he would dine with her, that ſhe might provide "a dinner for him." Harriſon well knew the affection of that lord and lady, and was very unwilling he ſhould make any ſtay there; but finding the King ſo fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwiſe removed from it than by abſolutely refuſing him to go thither, he choſe to conſent, and that his Majeſty ſhould ſend a ſervant; which he did the night before he intended to dine there.

Both lord and lady were of known duty and affection to the King; the lady, after her huſband the Lord Aubigney had been killed at Edgehill, having ſo far incenſed the Parliament, that ſhe had endured a long impriſonment, under a ſuſpicion that ſhe had been privy to the deſign which had been diſcovered by Mr. Waller, upon which Tomkins and Challoner had been put to death, and had likewiſe herſelf been put to death, if ſhe had not made her eſcape to Oxford. After the war was ended, ſhe had, with the King's approbation, married the Lord Newburgh; who had the ſame affections. They had, from the time of the King's being at Hampton Court, concerted with his Majeſty upon ſuch means, that, in the ſtricteſt reſtraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And moſt of the letters which paſſed between the King and the Queen paſſed through their hands; who had likewiſe a cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be ſent for from Hurſt caſtle, and adviſed him "to find ſome way

"that he might dine at the Lodge at Bagſhot; and that "he ſhould take occaſion, if he could, to lame the "horſe he rode upon, or to find ſuch fault with his "going, that he might take another horſe out of the "Lord Newburgh's ſtables to continue the reſt of his "journey upon." That lord much delighted in horſes, and had, at that time, in his ſtables one of the fleeteſt that was in England; and the purpoſe was, to mount the King upon that horſe, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the ſudden, ſet ſpurs to him; and, if he could get out of the company that encompaſſed him, he might, poſſibly, by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and his own ſkill in the moſt obſcure ways of that foreſt, convey himſelf to another place in their view; and ſo, three or four good horſes were laid in ſeveral places. And this was the reaſon that the King had ſo earneſtly inſiſted upon dining at Bagſhot; which being in his way, and his cuſtom being always to dine, they could not reaſonably deny him that liberty.

Before the King came thither, Harriſon had ſent ſome horſe with an officer to ſearch the houſe, and all about the park, that he might be ſure that no company lurked, which might make ſome attempt. And the King, all the morning, found fault with the going of his horſe; and ſaid, "he would change it, and procure a "better." When his Majeſty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly informed, "that the horſe ſo much depended upon was, the day "before, by the blow of another horſe, ſo lamed, that "he could not be of uſe to the purpoſe he was deſigned "for." And though that lord had other good horſes, which in ſuch an exigent might be made uſe of, yet the King had obſerved ſo great difficulty to be in the attempt all his journey, when he was encompaſſed always

The King dines at the Lord Newburgh's, where was an intention of making the King's eſcape, but in vain.

always in the middle of a hundred horſe, the officers all exceedingly well horſed, and every man, officer, and ſoldier, having a piſtol ready ſpanned in one hand, that he reſolved not to purſue that deſign. And Harriſon had already told him, "that he had provided a better "horſe for him:" and it was believed he would never have permitted him to have made uſe of one of the Lord Newburgh's. So that after having ſpent three or four hours there with very much ſatisfaction to himſelf, though he was not ſuffered to be in any room without the company of ſix or ſeven ſoldiers, who ſuffered little to be ſpoken, except it was ſo loud that they could hear it too, he took a ſad farewell of them, appearing to have little hope ever to ſee them again. The Lord Newburgh rode ſome miles in the foreſt to wait upon the King, till he was required by Harriſon to return. His Majeſty lodged that night at his caſtle of Windſor, and was ſoon after carried to St. James's. In this journey, Harriſon obſerving that the King had always an apprehenſion that there was a purpoſe to murder him, and had once let fall ſome words of "the odiouſneſs and wicked-"neſs of ſuch an aſſaſſination and murder, which "could never be ſafe to the perſon who undertook "it;" he told him plainly, "that he needed not to en-"tertain any ſuch imagination or apprehenſion; that "the Parliament had too much honour and juſtice to "cheriſh ſo foul an intention;" and aſſured him, "that "whatever the Parliament reſolved to do would be very "public, and in a way of juſtice; to which the world "ſhould be witneſs; and would never endure a thought "of ſecret violence:" which his Majeſty could not perſuade himſelf to believe; nor did imagine that they durſt ever produce him in the ſight of the people, under any form whatſoever of a public trial.

The King brought to St. James's.

It

The feveral confultations, before and after this time, among the officers, what to do with the King.

It hath been acknowledged ſince by ſome officers, and others who were preſent at the conſultations, that from the time of the King's being at Hampton Court, and after the army had maſtered both the Parliament and the city, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many ſecret conſults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "they ſhould never be able "to ſettle their new form of government, whilſt he "lived:" and after he was become a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, they were more ſolicitous for a reſolution and determination in that particular: and after the vote of no more addreſſes, the moſt violent party thought "they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till "he ſhould be firſt dead; and therefore, one way or "other, that was to be compaſſed in the firſt place." Some were for "an actual depoſing him; which could "not but be eaſily brought to paſs, ſince the Parliament "would vote any thing they ſhould be directed:" others were for "the taking away his life by poiſon; which "would make leaſt noiſe;" or, "if that could not be "ſo eaſily contrived, by aſſaſſination; for which there "were hands enough ready to be employed." There was a third ſort, as violent as either of the other, who preſſed "to have him brought to a public trial as a "malefactor; which," they ſaid, "would be moſt for "the honour of the Parliament, and would teach all "Kings to know, that they were accountable and pu-"niſhable for the wickedneſs of their lives."

Many of the officers were of the firſt opinion, "as a "thing they had precedents for; and that he being "once depoſed, they could better ſettle the government "than if he were dead; for his ſon could pretend no "right whilſt he was alive; whereas, if the father were "dead,

" dead, he would preſently call himſelf King, and others " would call him ſo too; and, it may be, other Kings " and Princes would own him for ſuch. If he were " kept alive in a cloſe priſon, he might afterwards be " made uſe of, or removed upon any appearance of a " revolution."

There were as many officers of the ſecond judgment, " that he ſhould be preſently diſpatched." They ſaid, " it appeared by the experience they had, that whilſt he " was alive, (for a more ſtrict impriſonment than he had " undergone, he could never be confined to), there " would be always plots and deſigns to ſet him at " liberty; and he would have parties throughout the " kingdom; and, in a ſhort time, a faction in their " moſt ſecret councils, and it may be in the army itſelf; " and, where his liberty would yield ſo great a price, it " would be too great a truſt to repoſe in any man, that " he would long reſiſt the temptation. Whereas, if he " were confeſſedly dead, all thoſe fears would be over; " eſpecially if they proceeded with that circumſpection " and ſeverity towards all his party, as in prudence they " ought to do." This party might probably have carried it, if Hammond could have been wrought upon to have concurred; but he had yet too much conſcience to expoſe himſelf to that infamy; and without his privity or connivance it could not be done.

The third party, which were all the levellers and agitators of the army, in the head of which Ireton and Harriſon were, would not endure either of the other ways; and ſaid, " they could as eaſily bring him to " juſtice in the ſight of the ſun, as depoſe him; ſince " the authority of the Parliament could do one as well " as the other: that their precedent of depoſing had " no reputation with the people; but was looked upon

" as

" as the effect of ſome potent faction, which always op-
" preſſed the people more after, than they had been be-
" fore. Beſides, thoſe depoſings had always been at-
" tended with aſſaſſinations and murders, which were
" the more odious and deteſted, becauſe nobody owned
" and avowed the bloody actions they had done. But
" if he were brought to a public trial, for the notorious
" ill things he had done, and for his miſgovernment,
" upon the complaint and proſecution of the people,
" the ſuperiority of the people would be hereby vindi-
" cated and made manifeſt; and they ſhould receive the
" benefit, and be for ever free from thoſe oppreſſions
" which he had impoſed upon them, and for which he
" ought to pay ſo dear; and ſuch an exemplary pro-
" ceeding and execution as this, where every circum-
" ſtance ſhould be clear and notorious, would be the beſt
" foundation and ſecurity of the government they in-
" tended to eſtabliſh; and no man would be ambitious
" to ſucceed him, and be a King in his place, when he
" ſaw in what manner he muſt be accountable to the
" people." This argumentation, or the ſtrength and obſtinacy of that party, carried it: and, hereupon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exer-ciſed, was reſolved upon and conſented to.

Concluded to have him publickly tried.

Whether the incredibility or monſtrouſneſs of ſuch a kind of proceeding wrought upon the minds of men, or whether the principal actors took pains, by their inſinuations, to have it ſo believed, it fell out however that they among them who wiſhed the King beſt, and ſtood neareſt to the ſtage where theſe parts were acted, did not believe that there were thoſe horrid intentions that ſhortly after appeared. The preachers, who had ſounded the trumpets loudeſt to, and throughout the war, preached now as furiouſly againſt all wicked attempts and

and violence againſt the perſon of the King, and fooliſhly urged the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had involved him in all the danger he was in) for the ſecurity of his perſon.

As ſoon as the Prince heard of the King's being carried by Harriſon to Windſor, and from thence to St. James's, though he had lately ſent a ſervant on purpoſe to ſee his Majeſty, and to bring him an account of the ſtate he was in, which ſervant was not permitted to ſee him, he ſent now another with a letter to Fairfax and the Council of War, (for he knew the Parliament had no authority), in which he told them, "that he had no "other means to be informed of the health and con- "dition of the King his royal father, but by the com- "mon prints, and general intelligences that arrived in "thoſe parts: he had reaſon by thoſe to believe, that, "after the expiration of the treaty in the Iſle of Wight, "(where he hoped the foundation for a happy peace "had been laid), his Majeſty had been carried to Hurſt "caſtle; and ſince, by ſome officers of the army, to "Windſor, not without purpoſe of a more violent pro- "ſecution; the rumour whereof, though of ſo mon- "ſtrous and incredible a nature, had called upon his "piety to make this addreſs to them; who had at this "time the power to chooſe, whether they would raiſe "laſting monuments to themſelves of loyalty and piety, "by reſtoring their Sovereign to his juſt rights, and "their country to peace and happineſs, a glory which "had been ſeldom abſolutely vouchſafed to ſo ſmall a "number of men, or to make themſelves the authors of "endleſs miſery to the kingdom, by contributing or "conſenting to an act which all Chriſtians, into how "different opinions ſoever divided, muſt abhor as the "moſt inconſiſtent with the elements of any religion,

The Prince ſends a letter to Fairfax and the Council of War:

"and

" and deſtructive to the ſecurity and being of any kind " of government: he did therefore earneſtly deſire and " conjure them, ſadly to conſider the vaſt and prodigious " diſproportion in that election; and then," he ſaid, " he could not doubt but that they would chooſe to do " that which is moſt juſt, ſafe, and honourable for " them to do; make themſelves the bleſt inſtruments to " preſerve, defend, and reſtore their King; to whom " only their allegiance was due; by which every one " of them might juſtly promiſe themſelves peace of " conſcience, the ſingular good will and favour of his " Majeſty, the ample thanks and acknowledgment of " all good men, and the particular and unalterable affec- " tion of the Prince himſelf." This letter was, with much ado, delivered into the hands of Fairfax himſelf; but the meſſenger could never be admitted to ſpeak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the Council of War, and laid aſide.

Which was read in the Council of War, and laid aſide.

From the time of the King's being come to St. James's, when he was delivered into the hands and cuſtody of Colonel Tomlinſon, a colonel of foot, though the officer ſeemed to be a man of a better breeding, and of a nature more civil than Harriſon, and pretended to pay much reſpect and duty to the King in his outward demeanour, yet his Majeſty, after a ſhort time, was treated with more rudeneſs and barbarity than he had ever been before. They were ſo jealous of their own guards, leſt they ſhould be wrought upon by the influence of this innocent Prince, or by the remorſe of their own conſcience upon the exerciſe of ſo much barbarity, that they cauſed the guards to be ſtill changed; and the ſame men were never ſuffered twice to perform the ſame monſtrous duty.

The uſage of the King at St. James's.

When he was firſt brought to Weſtminſter-hall, which

which was upon the twentieth of January, before their High Court of Juſtice, he looked upon them, and ſate down, without any manifeſtation of trouble, never ſtirring his hat; all the impudent judges ſitting covered, and fixing their eyes upon him, without the leaſt ſhew of reſpect. The odious libel, which they called a charge and impeachment, was then read by the clerk; which, in effect, contained, "that he had been admitted "King of England, and truſted with a limited power to "govern according to law; and, by his oath and office, "was obliged to uſe the power committed to him for "the good and benefit of the people: but that he had, "out of a wicked deſign to erect to himſelf an illimited "and tyrannical power, and to overthrow the rights and "liberties of the people, traitorouſly levied war againſt "the preſent Parliament, and the people therein repre-"ſented." And then it mentioned his firſt appearance at York with a guard, then his being at Beverly, then his ſetting up his ſtandard at Nottingham, the day of the month and the year in which the battle had been at Edgehill, and all the other ſeveral battles which had been fought in his preſence; "in which," it ſaid, "he had "cauſed and procured many thouſands of the free-born "people of the nation to be ſlain: that after all his "forces had been defeated, and himſelf become a pri-"ſoner, he had, in that very year, cauſed many inſur-"rections to be made in England, and given a commiſ-"ſion to the Prince his ſon to raiſe a new war againſt "the Parliament; whereby many who were in their "ſervice, and truſted by them, had revolted, broken "their truſt, and betook themſelves to the ſervice of the "Prince againſt the Parliament and the people: that he "had been the author and contriver of the unnatural, "cruel; and bloody wars; and was therein guilty of all

He is brought to Weſtminſter-hall, Jan. 20.

The ſum of his charge.

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" the treaſons, murders, rapines, burnings, and ſpoils, de-
" ſolations, damage, and miſchief to the nation, which
" had been committed in the ſaid war, or been occa-
" ſioned thereby; and that he was therefore impeached
" for the ſaid treaſons and crimes, on the behalf of the
" people of England, as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer,
" and a public implacable enemy to the commonwealth
" of England." And it was prayed, " that he might be
" put to anſwer to all the particulars, to the end that
" ſuch an examination, trial, and judgment, might
" be had thereupon, as ſhould be agreeable to juſtice."

What paſſed the firſt day of his trial.

Which being read, their preſident Bradſhaw, after he had inſolently reprehended the King " for not having " ſhewed more reſpect to that high tribunal," told him, " that the Parliament of England had appointed that " court to try him for the ſeveral treaſons, and miſ-" demeanours, which he had committed againſt the " kingdom during the evil adminiſtration of his govern-" ment; and that, upon the examination thereof, juſtice " might be done." And, after a great faucineſs and impudence of talk, he aſked the King, " what anſwer he " had to make to that impeachment."

The King, without any alteration in his countenance by all that inſolent provocation, told them, " he would " firſt know of them, by what authority they preſumed " by force to bring him before them, and who gave them " power to judge of his actions, for which he was ac-" countable to none but God; though they had been " always ſuch as he need not be aſhamed to own them " before all the world." He told them, "that he was their " King, they his ſubjects; who owed him duty and " obedience: that no Parliament had authority to call " him before them; but that they were not the Parlia-" ment, nor had any authority from the Parliament to ſit

" in

" in that manner: that of all the perſons who ſate there, " and took upon them to judge him, except thoſe per- " ſons who being officers of the army he could not but " know whilſt he was forced to be amongſt them, there " were only two faces which he had ever ſeen before, or " whoſe names were known to him." And, after urging " their duty, that was due to him, and his ſupe- " riority over them," by ſuch lively reaſons, and arguments, as were not capable of any anſwer, he concluded, " that he would not ſo much betray himſelf, and his " royal dignity, as to anſwer any thing they objected " againſt him, which were to acknowledge their author- " ity; though he believed that every one of themſelves, " as well as the ſpectators, did, in their own conſciences, " abſolve him from all the material things which were " objected againſt him."

Bradſhaw adviſed him, in a very arrogant manner, " not to deceive himſelf with an opinion that any thing " he had ſaid would do him any good: that the Parlia- " ment knew their own authority, and would not ſuffer " it to be called in queſtion or debated:" therefore required him, " to think better of it, againſt he ſhould be " next brought thither, and that he would anſwer di- " rectly to his charge; otherwiſe, he could not be ſo " ignorant, as not to know what judgment the law " pronounced againſt thoſe who ſtood mute, and ob- " ſtinately refuſed to plead." So the guard carried his Majeſty back to St. James's; where they treated him as before.

There was an accident happened that firſt day, which may be fit to be remembered. When all thoſe who were commiſſioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the firſt ceremony was, to read their commiſſion; which was the Ordinance of Parliament

Diſturbance in the court by the Lady Fairfax the General's wife.

for the trial; and then the judges were all called, every man anſwering to his name as he was called, and the Preſident being firſt called and making anſwer, the next who was called being the General, Lord Fairfax, and no anſwer being made, the officer called him the ſecond time, when there was a voice heard that ſaid, "he had "more wit than to be there;" which put the court into ſome diſorder, and ſomebody aſking, who it was, there was no other anſwer but a little murmuring. But, preſently, when the impeachment was read, and that expreſſion uſed, of "all the good people of England," the ſame voice in a louder tone anſwered, "No, nor "the hundredth part of them:" upon which, one of the officers bid the ſoldiers give fire into that box whence thoſe preſumptuous words were uttered. But it was quickly diſcerned that it was the General's wife, the Lady Fairfax, who had uttered both thoſe ſharp ſayings; who was preſently perſuaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new diſorder. She was of a very noble extraction, one of the daughters and heirs of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; who, having been bred in Holland, had not that reverence for the Church of England, as ſhe ought to have had, and ſo had unhappily concurred in her huſband's entering into rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would bring upon the kingdom; and now abhorred the work in hand as much as any body could do, and did all ſhe could to hinder her huſband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever ſit in that bloody court, though he was throughout overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to paſs which could very hardly have been otherwiſe effected.

As there was in many perſons preſent at that woful ſpectacle a real duty and compaſſion for the King, ſo there

there was in others ſo barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him tyrant and murderer; and one ſpit in his face; which his Majeſty, without expreſſing any trouble, wiped off with his handkerchief.

Sir H. Mildmay and Sir John Danvers the only two perſons the King knew beſides the officers of the army.

The two men who were only known to the King before the troubles, were Sir Harry Mildmay, Maſter of the King's Jewel-houſe, who had been bred up in the Court, being younger brother of a good family in Eſſex, and who had been proſecuted with ſo great favours and bounties by King James, and by his Majeſty, that he was raiſed by them to a great eſtate, and preferred to that office in his houſe, which is the beſt under thoſe which entitle the officers to be of the Privy Council. No man more obſequious to the Court than he, whilſt it flouriſhed; a great flatterer of all perſons in authority, and a ſpy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurred with thoſe who were moſt violent againſt the Court, and moſt like to prevail againſt it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes men moſt impudent, he continued his deſperate pace with them, till he became one of the murderers of his maſter. The other was Sir John Danvers, the younger brother and heir of the Earl of Danby, who was a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his brother, and having, by a vain expence in his way of living, contracted a vaſt debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud, formal, weak man, between being ſeduced and a ſeducer, became ſo far involved in their counſels, that he ſuffered himſelf to be applied to their worſt offices, taking it to be a high honour to ſit upon the ſame bench with Cromwell, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that

party of miſcreants look upon any two men in the kingdom with that ſcorn and deteſtation, as they did upon Danvers and Mildmay.

A ſummary paſſing over the reſt of the King's trial.

The ſeveral unheard of inſolences which this excellent Prince was forced to ſubmit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious judicatory, his majeſtic behaviour, and reſolute inſiſting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifeſt authorities in the law, as well as by the cleareſt deductions from reaſon, the pronouncing that horrible ſentence upon the moſt innocent perſon in the world, the execution of that ſentence by the moſt execrable murder that was ever committed ſince that of our bleſſed Saviour, and the circumſtances thereof; the application and interpoſition that was uſed by ſome noble perſons to prevent that woful murder, and the hypocriſy with which that interpoſition was eluded, the ſaint-like behaviour of that bleſſed martyr, and his Chriſtian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars ſo well known, and have been ſo much enlarged upon in a treatiſe peculiarly writ to that purpoſe, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the reader, and make the relation itſelf odious as well as needleſs; and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid here of that deplorable tragedy, ſo much to the diſhonour of the nation, and the religion profeſſed by it, though undeſervedly.

His character.

But it will not be unneceſſary to add a ſhort character of his perſon, that poſterity may know the ineſtimable loſs which the nation then underwent, in being deprived of a Prince, whoſe example would have had a greater influence upon the manners and piety of the nation, than the moſt ſtrict laws can have. To ſpeak firſt of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues; he was,

if

if ever any, the moſt worthy of the title of an honeſt man; ſo great a lover of juſtice, that no temptation could diſpoſe him to a wrongful action, except it was ſo diſguiſed to him that he believed it to be juſt. He had a tenderneſs and compaſſion of nature, which reſtrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was ſo apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the Judges of the land repreſented to him the damage and inſecurity to the public, that flowed from ſuch his indulgence. And then he reſtrained himſelf from pardoning either murders, or highway robberies, and quickly diſcerned the fruits of his ſeverity by a wonderful reformation of thoſe enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or ſports, though never ſo early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers; ſo that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in obſerving the hours of his private cabinet devotions; and was ſo ſevere an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what ſharpneſs of wit ſoever it was covered: and though he was well pleaſed and delighted with reading verſes made upon any occaſion, no man durſt bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was ſo great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular durſt not brag of their liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his biſhops to proſecute thoſe ſcandalous vices, in the eccleſiaſtical courts, againſt perſons of eminence, and near relation to his ſervice.

His juſtice and mercy.

His devotion and religion.

His conjugal chaſtity.

His kingly virtues had ſome mixture and allay, that

hindered them from ſhining in full luſtre, and from producing thoſe fruits they ſhould have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of Buckingham's death, after which thoſe ſhowers fell very rarely; and he pauſed too long in giving, which made thoſe, to whom he gave, leſs ſenſible of the benefit. He kept ſtate to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no man preſuming to be ſeen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He ſaw and obſerved men long, before he received them about his perſon; and did not love ſtrangers, nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of cauſes; which he frequently accuſtomed himſelf to at the Council Board; and judged very well, and was dexterous in the mediating part: ſo that he often put an end to cauſes by perſuaſion, which the ſtubbornneſs of men's humours made dilatory in courts of juſtice.

He was not very bountiful.

He kept ſtate in his Court.

Patient in hearing cauſes.

He was very fearleſs in his perſon; but, in his riper years, not very enterpriſing. He had an excellent underſtanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worſe, and follow the advice of men that did not judge ſo well as himſelf. This made him more irreſolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more reſpect and duty. And his not applying ſome ſevere cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderneſs of his conſcience, which, in all caſes of blood, made him chooſe the ſofter way, and not hearken to ſevere counſels, how reaſonably ſoever urged. This only reſtrained him from purſuing his advantage in the firſt Scottiſh expedition, when, humanly ſpeaking, he might have

Fearleſs, not enterpriſing.

Not confident in his own judgment.

have reduced that nation to the moſt entire obedience that could have been wiſhed. But no man can ſay he had then many who adviſed him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indiſpoſition all his Council had to the war, or any other fatigue. He was always a great lover of the Scottiſh nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and beſieged by them always, having few Engliſh about him till he was king; and the major number of his ſervants being ſtill of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among theſe, no man had ſuch an aſcendant over him, by the humbleſt inſinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

Lover of the Scottiſh nation.

As he excelled in all other virtues, ſo in temperance he was ſo ſtrict, that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great feſtival ſolemnity, where he once was, when very many of the nobility of the Engliſh and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vaſt draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one Earl, who had drank "moſt of the reſt down, and was not himſelf moved or "altered," the King ſaid, "that he deſerved to be "hanged;" and that Earl coming ſhortly after into the room where his Majeſty was, in ſome gaiety, to ſhew how unhurt he was from that battle, the King ſent one to bid him withdraw from his Majeſty's preſence; nor did he in ſome days after appear before him.

Abhorred debauchery.

So many miraculous circumſtances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth conſpired it. Though he was, from the firſt declenſion of his power, ſo much betrayed by his own ſervants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not always from any treaſonable purpoſe to do him any harm, but from

particular and perſonal animoſities againſt other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conſcious of themſelves, made them watch all opportunities to make themſelves gracious to thoſe who could do them good; and ſo they became ſpies upon their maſter, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at laſt they had no hope of preſervation but by the deſtruction of their maſter. And after all this, when a man might reaſonably believe that leſs than a univerſal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great King to ſo ugly a fate, it is moſt certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the ſight of the ſun, he had as great a ſhare in the hearts and affections of his ſubjects in general, was as much beloved, eſteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predeceſſors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthieſt gentleman, the beſt maſter, the beſt friend, the beſt huſband, the beſt father, and the beſt Chriſtian, that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greateſt king, if he were without ſome parts and qualities which have made ſome kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was poſſeſſed of half his virtues and endowments, and ſo much without any kind of vice.

Beloved by his ſubjects in general when he was murdered.

The ſum of his character.

This unparalleled murder and parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of January, in the year, according to the account uſed in England, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his age, and when he had ſuch excellent health, and ſo great vigour of body, that when his murderers cauſed him to be opened, (which they did, and were ſome of them preſent at it with great curioſity,) they confeſſed and declared, "that no man had ever all his

"vital

" vital parts ſo perfect and unhurt: and that he ſeemed " to be of ſo admirable a compoſition and conſtitution, " that he would probably have lived as long as nature " could ſubſiſt." His body was immediately carried into a room at Whitehall; where he was expoſed for many days to the public view, that all men might know that he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, and put into a coffin, and ſo carried to St. James's; where he likewiſe remained ſeveral days. They who were qualified to order his funeral declared, " that he ſhould be buried at Windſor in a decent " manner, provided that the whole expence ſhould not " exceed five hundred pounds." The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindſey, who had been of his bedchamber, and always very faithful to him, deſired thoſe who governed, " that they might have leave to perform the " laſt duty to their dead maſter, and to wait upon him " to his grave;" which, after ſome pauſes, they were permitted to do, with this, " that they ſhould not at- " tend the corpſe out of the town; ſince they reſolved " it ſhould be privately carried to Windſor without " pomp or noiſe, and then they ſhould have timely " notice, that, if they pleaſed, they might be at his in- " terment." And accordingly it was committed to four of thoſe ſervants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his impriſonment, that they ſhould convey the body to Windſor; which they did. And it was, that night, placed in that chamber which had uſually been his bedchamber: the next morning, it was carried into the great hall; where it remained till the lords came; who arrived there in the afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel Whitchcot, the Governor of the caſtle, and ſhewed the order they had from

His funeral.

from the Parliament to be preſent at the burial; which he admitted: but when they deſired that his Majeſty might be buried according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, the Biſhop of London being preſent with them to officiate, he poſitively and roughly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſaid, "it was not lawful; that the "Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would "not ſuffer it to be uſed in that garriſon where he "commanded;" nor could all the reaſons, perſuaſions, and entreaties, prevail with him to ſuffer it. Then they went into the church, to make choice of a place for burial. But when they entered into it, which they had been ſo well acquainted with, they found it ſo altered and transformed, all inſcriptions, and thoſe land-marks pulled down, by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and ſuch a diſmal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our princes had uſed to be interred. At laſt there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he ſaid, "there was a vault, "in which King Harry the Eighth and Queen Jane "Seymour were interred." As near that place as could conveniently be, they cauſed the grave to be made. There the King's body was laid without any words, or other ceremonies than the tears and ſighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of ſilver fixed with theſe words only, *King Charles* 1648. When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the Governor ſtayed to ſee perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church.

I have been the longer and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occaſion to men-

mention what fell out long after, and which administered a subject of much discourse; in which, according to the several humours and fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit and trust about the King underwent many very severe censures and reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himself. Upon the return of King Charles the Second with so much congratulation, and universal joy of the people, above ten years after the murder of his father, it was generally expected that the body should be removed from that obscure burial, and, with such ceremony as should be thought fit, should be solemnly deposited with his royal ancestors in King Harry the Seventh's Chapel in the collegiate church of Westminster. And the King himself intended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as if it were only deferred till some circumstances and ceremonies in the doing it might be adjusted. But, by degrees, the discourse of it was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside upon some reasons of state, the ground whereof several men guessed at according to their fancies, and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the reasons which were suggested by their own imaginations did not satisfy their understanding. For the satisfaction and information of all men, I choose in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be, is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be published. The Duke of Richmond was dead before the King returned; the Marquis of Hertford died in a short time after, and was seldom out of his lodging after his Majesty came to Whitehall: the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such of their own servants as had attended them in that service, and as many others

others as they remembered had been then preſent, and were ſtill alive; who all amounted to a ſmall number; there being, at the time of the interment, great ſtrictneſs uſed in admitting any to be preſent whoſe names were not included in the order which the lords had brought. In a word, the confuſion they had at that time obſerved to be in that church, and the ſmall alterations which were begun to be made towards decency, ſo totally perplexed their memories, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves in what place or part of the church the royal body was interred: yet, where any concurred upon this or that place, they cauſed the ground to be opened at a good diſtance, and, upon ſuch enquiries, found no cauſe to believe that they were near the place: and, upon their giving this account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aſide; and the reaſon communicated to very few, for the better diſcountenancing farther enquiry.

Though this wicked and abominable action had to a degree ſatisfied their malice, it had not enough provided for their ambition or ſecurity. They had no ſooner freed themſelves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And beſides the old royal party, which continued ſtill vigorous, notwithſtanding their loſs of ſo much blood, and (which weakens almoſt as much) of ſo great eſtates, they did apprehend that there were in the vaſt number of the guilty (who quietly looked on upon the removal of the old, whom they had ſo grievouſly offended) who would yet be very willing to ſubmit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more friends abroad, as well as at home, than his father had done. And therefore they made haſte to prevent this threatening evil, by publiſhing a proclamation, "that no perſon whatſoever ſhould

"pre-

" preſume to declare Charles Stuart, ſon of the late " Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or " any other perſon, to be King, or Chief Magiſtrate of " England, or Ireland, or of any dominions belonging " thereunto, by colour of inheritance, ſucceſſion, elec- " tion, or any other claim whatſoever; and that who- " ever, contrary to this Act, preſume to proclaim, &c. " ſhould be deemed and adjudged a traitor, and ſuffer " accordingly."

Proclamation againſt proclaiming Charles Stuart King.

In the next place, that their infant republic might be nurſed, cheriſhed, and brought up by thoſe only who had gotten and brought it forth, they reſolved to take away and aboliſh the Houſe of Peers, and voted, " that " they would make no farther addreſſes to the Houſe of " Lords, nor receive any more from them: that the " Houſe of Peers, in Parliament, was uſeleſs and dan- " gerous; and that an Act ſhould be brought in for " aboliſhing it: that the privilege of the Peers, of being " freed from arreſts, ſhould be declared null and void;" all which was done within few days. However, they declared, " that the Peers ſhould have the privilege " to be elected knights, or burgeſſes;" of which gracious conceſſion ſome of them took the benefit ſoon after, and ſate, upon their election into vacant places, in the Houſe of Commons.

The Commons aboliſh the Houſe of Peers.

There remained yet another proviſion to be made againſt their own ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongſt them many who were not equally fond of a commonwealth; and therefore they declared, " that it had been found by experience, that " the office of a King in this nation, or to have the " power thereof in any ſingle perſon, was unneceſſary, " burdenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, and ſafety, " and public intereſt of the nation; and therefore that

Vote againſt the office of kingſhip.

" it

" it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed; and to that purpoſe " an Act ſhould be forthwith prepared:" which was likewiſe done, and paſſed. And by this triple cord they believed their republic would be ſtrongly compacted, and ſufficiently provided for.

They make a new Great Seal.

Their new Great Seal was by this time ready; whereon was engraven, on one ſide, the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other ſide the portraiture of the Houſe of Commons ſitting, circumſcribed, *In the firſt year of freedom by God's bleſſing reſtored*, 1648. The cuſtody of this Great Seal was committed to three lawyers, whereof one had ſate among the King's Judges, and the others had contributed too much to their ſervice. All things being now in this good order, they ſent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumſtances of proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, " that they were fully reſolved to main- " tain and uphold the fundamental laws of the nation, " in order to the preſervation of the lives, property, " and liberty of the people, notwithſtanding all the al- " terations made in the government for the good of the " people:" and the writs were no more to run in the King's name, as they had always done, but the name, ſtyle, and teſt, to be *Cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ, authoritate Parliamenti.* If it were not a thing ſo notoriouſly known, it could not be believed, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly ſubmitted, from the beginning of the war, to the authority that governed, ſix laid down their places, and could not give themſelves leave to accept commiſſions from the new eſtabliſhed power. So aguiſh and fantaſtical a thing is the conſcience of men who have once departed from the rule of conſcience, in hope

Six of their own Judges give up.

to

to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a leſs preſſing occaſion.

How ſome neighbouring Princes took the King's murder.

It will be requiſite, at leaſt it may not be unfit, to reſt and make a pauſe in this place, to take a view, with what countenance the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom had their eyes fixed upon this ſad and bloody ſpectacle; how they looked upon that iſſue of blood, at which their own ſeemed to be ſo prodigally poured out; with what conſternation their hearts laboured to ſee the impious hands of the loweſt and baſeſt ſubjects bathing in the bowels and reeking blood of their Sovereign; a brother King, the anointed of the Lord, diſmembered as a malefactor; what combination and union was entered into, to take vengeance upon thoſe monſters, and to vindicate the royal blood thus wickedly ſpilt. Alas! there was ſcarce a murmur amongſt any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the language of the Prophet Iſaiah, *Go, ye ſwift meſſengers, to a nation ſcattered and peeled, to a people terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a nation meted out, and trodden down, whoſe lands the rivers have ſpoiled*, they made haſte, and ſent over, that they might get ſhares in the ſpoils of a murdered monarch.

Cardinal Mazarine, who, in the infancy of the French King, managed that ſceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and ſought his friendſhip by a lower and viler application than was ſuitable to the purple of a Cardinal, ſent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchaſe of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchaſed the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furniſhed his palace at Paris. The King of Spain had, from the beginning of the rebellion, kept Don Alonzo de Cardinas, who had been his ambaſſador to the King, reſiding ſtill at London,

don, and he had, upon ſeveral occaſions, many audiences from the Parliament, and ſeveral treaties on foot; and as ſoon as this diſmal murder was over, that ambaſſador, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many pictures, and other precious goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being ſent in ſhips to the Corunna in Spain, were carried from thence to Madrid upon eighteen mules. Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, purchaſed the choice of all the medals, and jewels, and ſome pictures of a great price, and received the Parliament's agent with great joy and pomp, and made an alliance with them. The Archduke Leopold, who was Governor of Flanders, diſburſed a great ſum of money for many of the beſt pictures, which adorned the ſeveral palaces of the King; which were all brought to him to Bruſſels, and from thence carried by him into Germany. In this manner did the neighbour Princes join to aſſiſt Cromwell with very great ſums of money, whereby he was enabled to proſecute and finiſh his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguiſh monarchy in this renowned kingdom; whilſt they enriched and adorned themſelves with the ruins and ſpoils of the ſurviving heir, without applying any part thereof to his relief, in the greateſt neceſſities which ever King was ſubject to. And that which is ſtranger than all this, (ſince moſt men, by recovering their fortunes, uſe to recover moſt of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preſerve it for the true owner), not one of all theſe Princes ever reſtored any of their unlawful purchaſes to the King, after his bleſſed reſtoration.

Whilſt theſe perfidious wretches had their hands ſtill reeking in the precious blood of their Sovereign, they were

were put upon a new piece of butchery, as neceſſary to the eſtabliſhment of their new tyranny. The King was no ſooner dead, but they declared, as hath been ſaid, "that from this time England ſhould be go-"verned as a commonwealth by the Parliament;" that is, by that handfull of men, who by their wiſdom and power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And becauſe the number of thoſe appeared very ſmall, and the number of thoſe they had excluded was as viſible, they made an order and declaration, "that as many of the "members who had been excluded, as would under "their hands approve all that had been done during "the time they were excluded, ſhould return to their "ſeats in the Houſe without any prejudice for the fu-"ture." Hereupon divers went again into the Houſe, ſatisfying themſelves that they were not guilty of the innocent royal blood that had been ſpilt; and ſo their number increaſed. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been ſaid, and called the commiſſioners, who were entruſted with the keeping thereof, *the Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And the Court of King's Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain perſons to conſider of ſuch alterations as were neceſſary to be made in the laws of England, in regard of ſo important a mutation. That they might have ſome obligation of obedience from their ſubjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, a new oath was prepared and eſtabliſhed, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every man ſhould ſwear, "that he would be "true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed with-"out King or Houſe of Peers:" and whoſoever refuſed to take that Engagement ſhould be incapable of holding any place or office in Church or State. The neceſſity

An oath impoſed, called the Engagement.

of taking which oath did not only exclude all of the royal party, but freed them from very many who had offices in Church and State, who, being of the Preſbyterian party, durſt not ſacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And ſo they filled many conſiderable places, both in the one and the other, with men throughly prepared for their ſervice. But before they could model and finiſh all this, and whilſt it was preparing, they had, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, terrified the people with blood-ſpectacles, in the executing many of the perſons who had been taken. And, that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their ſubjects, the Peers of England, that they ſhould hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental laws of the land were, a new High Court of Juſtice was appointed to ſit for the trial of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and another gentleman, one Sir John Owen, (who, having been heretofore a colonel in the King's army, had in a late inſurrection in Wales killed the High Sheriff,) that they might ſee there ſhould hereafter be no more diſtinction of quality in trials for life, but that the greateſt lord and the commoners ſhould undergo the ſame judicatory, and form of trial. Nor could it be thought unreaſonable, that all the creations of the Crown ſhould be determined by that juriſdiction to which the Crown itſelf had been ſubjected.

A new High Court of Juſtice ſits, and ſeveral trials before them.

Duke Hamilton could not well be thought other than a priſoner of war, and ſo not liable to a trial for his life. He had attempted to make an eſcape; in which he had ſo well ſucceeded, that he was out of his enemies' hands full three days; but being impatient to be at a greater diſtance from them, he was apprehended

Duke Hamilton firſt tried.

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as he was taking horſe in Southwark; and carried priſoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High Court of Juſtice. He inſiſted upon "the right and privilege of the kingdom of Scotland; that it had not the leaſt dependence upon the kingdom of England, but was entirely governed by its own laws: that he, being a ſubject of that kingdom, was bound to obey the commands thereof; and the Parliament of that kingdom having thought it neceſſary to raiſe an army for the relief of their King, and conſtituted him General of that army, it was not lawful for him to refuſe the command thereof; and whatever misfortune he had undergone with it, he could not be underſtood to be liable to any puniſhment but what a priſoner of war was bound to undergo." He was told, "that the rights and laws of the kingdom of Scotland were not called in queſtion, nor could be violated by their proceedings againſt him, who was a ſubject of England; againſt which he was charged with rebellion and treaſon: that they did not proceed againſt him as Duke Hamilton of Scotland, but as Earl of Cambridge in England, and they would judge him as ſuch." The Earl of Holland was not at that time in a good diſpoſition of health, and ſo anſwered little, as a man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the ſtrength of his defence. The Earl of Norwich behaved himſelf with great ſubmiſſion to the Court, and with all thoſe addreſſes as were moſt like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections: ſpoke of "his being bred up in the Court from his cradle, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; of his having been a ſervant to King James all his

Then the Earl of Holland.

The Ear of Norwich.

" reign; of his dependence upon Prince Harry; after-
" wards upon the late King; of the obligations he had
" to the Crown, and of his endeavours to ſerve it;"
and concluded as a man that would be beholding to
them, if they would give him leave to live.

The Lord Capel.

The Lord Capel appeared undaunted, and utterly refuſed to ſubmit to their juriſdiction; " that in the
" condition and capacity of a ſoldier and a priſoner of
" war, he ſaid, the lawyers and gownmen had nothing
" to do with him, and therefore he would not anſwer
" to any thing which they had ſaid againſt him;" (Steel having treated him with great rudeneſs and inſolence;) but inſiſted upon " the law of nations, which exempted
" all priſoners, though ſubmitting to mercy, from
" death, if it was not inflicted within ſo many days:
" which were long ſince expired." He urged " the
" declaration which Fairfax the General had made to
" him, and the reſt of the priſoners, after the death of
" Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle; that no other
" of their lives ſhould be in danger, which he had wit-
" neſſes ready to prove, if they might be admitted;"
and concluded, " that, if he had committed any offence
" worthy of death, he might be tried by his peers:
" which was his right by the laws of the land; the be-
" neſit whereof he required." Ireton, who was preſent, and ſate as one of his judges, denied " that the General
" had made any ſuch promiſe, and if he had, that the
" Parliament's authority could not be reſtrained there-
" by;" and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the General's civility. The other inſiſted ſtill on the promiſe; and urged " that the General might be ſent for and ex-
" amined;" which they knew not how to deny; but, in

regard

regard of his indiſpoſition of health, they ſaid they would ſend to him, whilſt they proceeded againſt Sir John Owen, who was the other priſoner.

He anſwered them without any application, "that Sir John Owen
"he was a plain gentleman of Wales, who had been
"always taught to obey the King; that he had ſerved
"him honeſtly during the war, and finding afterwards
"that many honeſt men endeavoured to raiſe forces,
"whereby they might get him out of priſon, he did the
"like; and the High Sheriff endeavoured to oppoſe
"him, and ſo chanced to be killed; which he might
"have avoided, if he had ſtayed at home:" and concluded like a man that did not much care what they reſolved concerning him.

Whether the queſtion was well ſtated to Fairfax, or what was elſe ſaid to him to diſſuade him from owning his declaration and promiſe, he boggled ſo much in his anſwer, that they would be of opinion, "that he had
"not made ſuch direct and poſitive promiſe; and that
"the ſame was never tranſmitted to the Parliament;
"which it ought to have been; and that, at moſt, it
"could but exempt thoſe priſoners from being tried
"before a court, or council of war, and could not be
"underſtood as an obligation upon the Parliament, not
"to give direction to ſuch a legal proceeding againſt
"them, as they ſhould find neceſſary for the peace
"and ſafety of the kingdom." The preſident Bradſhaw told the Lord Capel, with many inſolent expreſſions, "that he was tried before ſuch judges as the Parliament
"thought fit to aſſign him; and who had judged a
"better man than himſelf." So the ſentence of death All five condemned.
was pronounced againſt all five of them, "that they
"ſhould loſe their heads;" upon which Sir John Owen made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks;

and being aſked by a ſtander by, " what he meant?" he ſaid aloud, " it was a very great honour to a poor gen- " tleman of Wales to loſe his head with ſuch noble " lords;" and ſwore a great oath, " that he was afraid " they would have hanged him."

The priſoners were all carried to St. James's; where they were to remain till their execution two days after; which time their friends and relations had to endeavour to preſerve their lives by the power and authority of the Parliament; where there were ſo many ſitting who had not ſate in judgment upon them, and who were of ſeveral affections, and liable to ſeveral temptations, that there might be a reaſonable hope to reſcue them from the cruel and unjuſt judgment. Their wives, and children, and friends, left no way untried to prevail; offered and gave money to ſome who were willing to receive it, and made promiſes accordingly. But they who had the greateſt credit, and moſt power to terrify others who ſhould diſpleaſe them, were inexorable; yet dealt ſo much more honeſtly than the reſt, that they declared to the ladies, who ſolicited for their huſbands and their fathers, " that they would not " endeavour to do them ſervice." Ireton, above all men, continued his inſolent and dogged humour, and told them, " if he had credit, they ſhould all die." Others, who gave better words, had no better meaning than he.

All their petitions were read in order, being penned in ſuch ſtyles as the friends, who ſolicited for them, were adviſed. Duke Hamilton's petition being read, many, upon the motives of juſtice, and as they imagined his death might be the occaſion of new troubles between the two nations, ſince Scotland could not but reſent it, would have been willing he ſhould live. But he had fewer friends to his perſon than any of the reſt; and

and Cromwell knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the peace of that kingdom depended: ſo that when his petition was read, it was rejected by very much the major part of voices. The conſideration of the Earl of Holland took up a long debate: the intereſt and interpoſition of the Earl of Warwick, his brother, was applied; and every Preſbyterian, to a man, was ſolicitous to preſerve him. They urged "his merit towards the "Parliament in the beginning of the troubles; how "much he had ſuffered in the Court for his affection "to them: his age and infirmities, which would not "ſuffer him long to enjoy that life they ſhould give "him: and the conſideration of his wife, and children, "which were numerous." But theſe arguments ſtirred up others to inveigh againſt his backſlidings with the more bitterneſs, and to undervalue the ſervices he had ever done; to tax his vanities, and his breach of faith. When the queſtion was put concerning him, they who were for the negative exceeded the number of the other by three or four votes; Cromwell having more than an ordinary animoſity againſt him, for his behaviour in the beginning of the ſummer, and for ſome words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himſelf. The Earl of Norwich came next upon the ſtage; who, having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, without contracting many enemies, had many there who wiſhed him well, and few who had animoſity againſt him: ſo that when the queſtion was put concerning him, the houſe was equally divided, the votes which rejected his petition, and thoſe which would preſerve his life, were equal: ſo that his life or death depended upon the ſingle vote of the Speaker; who told the Houſe, "that he had received many obliga-

" tions from that lord; and that once when he had " been like to have incurred the King's diſpleaſure, by " ſome miſinformation, which would have been very " penal to him, the Lord Goring" (under which ſtyle he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) " had by his " credit preſerved him, and removed the prejudice that " was againſt him; and therefore he was obliged in " gratitude to give his vote for the ſaving him." By this good fortune he came to be preſerved; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuſe for ſaving any man's life who was put to aſk it in that place.

The Lord Capel, ſhortly after he was brought priſoner to the Tower from Windſor Caſtle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a cord and all things neceſſary conveyed to him, let himſelf down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might be beſt able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no ſafer place, he found the water and the mud ſo deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the water came up to his chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the fatigue of drawing himſelf out of ſo much mud ſo intolerable, that his ſpirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the priſon, than to be found in ſuch a place, from whence he could not extricate himſelf, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleaſed God, that he got at laſt to the other ſide; where his friends expected him, and carried him to a chamber in the temple; where he remained two or three nights ſecure

from

from any diſcovery, notwithſtanding the diligence that could not but be uſed to recover a man they deſigned to uſe no better. After two or three days, a friend whom he truſted much, and who deſerved to be truſted, conceiving that he might be more ſecure in a place to which there was leſs reſort, and where there were ſo many harboured who were every day ſought after, had provided a lodging for him in a private houſe in Lambeth Marſh; and calling upon him in an evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they choſe rather to take any boat they found ready at the Temple ſtairs, than to truſt one of that people with the ſecret; and it was ſo late that there was one only boat left there. In that the Lord Capel (as well diſguiſed as he thought neceſſary) and his friend put themſelves, and bid the waterman row them to Lambeth. Whether, in their paſſage thither, the other gentleman called him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the waterman had any jealouſy by obſerving what he thought was a diſguiſe, when they were landed, the wicked waterman, undiſcerned, followed them, till he ſaw into what houſe they went; and then went to an officer, and demanded, "what he would give him to bring him to the place "where the Lord Capel lay?" And the officer promiſing to give him ten pounds, he led him preſently to the houſe, where that excellent perſon was ſeized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

When the petition, that his wife had delivered, was read, many gentlemen ſpoke on his behalf; and mentioned the great virtues which were in him; and "that "he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of "their party; but always reſolutely declared himſelf "for the King:" and Cromwell, who had known him very well, ſpoke ſo much good of him, and profeſſed

to

to have ſo much kindneſs and reſpect for him, that all men thought he was now ſafe, when he concluded, "that his affection to the public ſo much weighed "down his private friendſhip, that he could not but tell "them, that the queſtion was now, whether they would "preſerve the moſt bitter and the moſt implacable enemy "they had: that he knew the Lord Capel very well, "and knew that he would be the laſt man in England "that would forſake the royal intereſt; that he had "great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had "many friends who would always adhere to him; and "that as long as he lived, what condition ſoever he "was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides; and "therefore, for the good of the commonwealth, he "ſhould give his vote againſt the petition." Ireton's hatred was immortal; he ſpake of him, and againſt him, as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were ſwayed by the argument that had been urged againſt Duke Hamilton, "that God was not "pleaſed that he ſhould eſcape, becauſe he had put him "into their hands again, when he was at liberty," And ſo, after a long debate, though there was not a man who had not a value for him, and very few who had a particular malice or prejudice towards him, the queſtion being put, the negative was more by three or four voices: ſo that of the four Lords, three were without the mercy of that unmerciful people. There being no other petition preſented, Ireton told them, "there had "been great endeavours and ſolicitation uſed to ſave all "thoſe lords; but that there was a commoner, ano-"ther condemned perſon, for whom no one man had "ſpoke a word, nor had he himſelf ſo much as pe-"titioned them; and therefore he deſired, that Sir "John Owen might be preſerved by the mere motive

"and

" and goodneſs of the Houſe itſelf;" which found little oppoſition; whether they were ſatiated with blood, or that they were willing, by this inſtance, that the nobility ſhould ſee that a commoner ſhould be preferred before them.

A ſcaffold was erected before Weſtminſter Hall, and all the priſoners condemned were brought from St. James's, (as well the two who were reprieved, as the three who were to ſuffer,) upon the ninth of March, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a month after the murder of the King, to Sir Thomas Cotton's houſe, at the upper end of Weſtminſter Hall; where they were ſuffered to repoſe themſelves about the ſpace of an hour, and then were led ſucceſſively through the Hall to the ſcaffold, Duke Hamilton being firſt; who ſeemed yet to have ſome hope of a reprieve, and made ſome ſtay in the Hall, till the Earl of Denbigh came to him; and, after a ſhort whiſper, in which he found there was no hope, he aſcended the ſcaffold. He complained much of " the injuſtice that was done him; and that he was " put to death for obeying the laws of his country; " which if he had not done, he muſt have been put to " death there." He acknowledged the obligations he had to the King, and ſeemed not ſorry for the gratitude he had expreſſed, how dear ſoever it coſt him. His natural darkneſs, and reſervation in his diſcourſe, made him to be thought a wiſe man, and his having been in command under the King of Sweden, and his continual diſcourſes of battles, and fortifications, made him be thought a great ſoldier. And both theſe miſtakes were the cauſe that made him be looked upon as a worſe and a more dangerous man, than in truth he deſerved to be.

Duke Hamilton beheaded March 9.

The

The Earl of Holland the ſame day.

The Earl of Holland was brought next, who, by his long ſickneſs, was ſo ſpent, that his ſpirits ſerved not to entertain the people with long diſcourſe. He ſpoke of "his religion, as a matter unqueſtionable, by the "education he had had in the religious family of which "he was a branch:" which was thought a ſtrange diſcourſe for a dying man, who, though a ſon, knew enough of the iniquity of his father's houſe, which ſhould rather have been buried in ſilence, than, by ſuch an unſeaſonable teſtimony, have been revived in the memory and diſcourſe of men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good ſervant to his maſter, and was thought to ſay too little of his having failed ſo much in his duty to him, which moſt good men believed to be the ſource from whence his preſent calamity ſprung. He was a very well bred man, and a fine gentleman in good times; but too much deſired to enjoy eaſe and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think poverty the moſt inſupportable evil that could befall any man in this world. He was then ſo weak that he could not have lived long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood followed.

The Lord Capel.

The Lord Capel was then called; who walked through Weſtminſter Hall, ſaluting ſuch of his friends and acquaintance as he ſaw there, with a very ſerene countenance, accompanied with his friend Dr. Morley; who had been with him from the time of his ſentence; but, at the foot of the ſcaffold, the ſoldiers ſtopping the Doctor, his Lordſhip took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and ſaid, he ſhould go no farther, having ſome apprehenſion that he might receive ſome affront by that rude people after his death; the chaplains who attended the two other lords being

men

men of the time, and the Doctor being well known to be moſt contrary.

As ſoon as his Lordſhip had aſcended the ſcaffold, he looked very vigorouſly about, and aſked, "whether the "other lords had ſpoken to the people with their hats "on?" and being told, that "they were bare;" he gave his hat to his ſervant, and then with a clear and a ſtrong voice he ſaid, "that he was brought "thither to die for doing that which he could not re-"pent of: that he had been born and bred under the "government of a King whom he was bound in con-"ſcience to obey; under laws, to which he had been "always obedient; and in the boſom of a Church, "which he thought the beſt in the world: that he had "never violated his faith to either of thoſe, and was "now condemned to die againſt all the laws of the "land; to which ſentence he did ſubmit."

He enlarged himſelf in commending "the great "virtue and piety of the King, whom they had put to "death; who was ſo juſt and ſo merciful a Prince;" and prayed to God, "to forgive the nation that innocent "blood." Then he recommended to them the preſent King; "who," he told them, "was their true and their "lawful Sovereign; and was worthy to be ſo: that he "had the honour to have been ſome years near his "perſon, and therefore he could not but know him "well;" and aſſured them, "that he was a Prince of "great underſtanding, of an excellent nature, of great "courage, an entire lover of juſtice, and of exemplary "piety: that he was not to be ſhaken in his religion; "and had all thoſe princely virtues, which could make "a nation happy:" and therefore adviſed them "to "ſubmit to his government, as the only means to pre-"ſerve themſelves, their poſterity, and the Proteſtant "religion."

"religion." And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after ſome prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his knees, he ſubmitted himſelf, with an unparalleled chriſtian courage, to the fatal ſtroke, which deprived the nation of the nobleſt champion it had.

The Lord Capel's character.

He was a man in whom the malice of his enemies could diſcover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom Cromwell's own character well deſcribed; and who indeed would never have been contented to have lived under that government. His memory all men loved and reverenced, though few followed his example. He had always lived in a ſtate of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he had a numerous iſſue of both ſexes, in which he took great joy and comfort: ſo that no man was more happy in all his domeſtic affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them.

And yet the King's honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own honour and conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his perſon and his fortune from the beginning of the troubles, as many others did, in all actions and enterpriſes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excuſed him for ſome remiſſion of his

his former warmth. But it made no other impreſſion upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilſt they would let him alone, and, with the ſame chearfulneſs, to obey the firſt ſummons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a man, that whoever ſhall, after him, deſerve beſt of the Engliſh nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his courage, virtue, and fidelity, is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel.

The concluſion and character of the year 1648.

So ended the year one thouſand ſix hundred forty eight; a year of reproach and infamy above all years which had paſſed before it; a year of the higheſt diſſimulation and hypocriſy, of the deepeſt villainy and moſt bloody treaſons, that any nation was ever curſed with, or under: a year, in which the memory of all the tranſactions ought to be raſed out of all records, leſt, by the ſucceſs of it, atheiſm, infidelity, and rebellion, ſhould be propagated in the world: a year, of which we may ſay, as the hiſtorian ſaid of the time of Domitian, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate eſſet, ita nos quid in ſervitute*; or, as the ſame writer ſays of a time not altogether ſo wicked, *is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XII.

2 CHRON. XXVIII. 10.

And now ye purpoſe to keep under the children of Judah and Jeruſalem for bondmen and bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, ſins againſt the Lord your God?

ISAIAH XXIX. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the ſpirit of deep ſleep, and hath cloſed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the ſeers hath he covered.

WHILST theſe tragedies were acting in England, and ordinances formed, as hath been ſaid, to make it penal in the higheſt degree for any man to aſſume the title of King, or to acknowledge any man to be ſo, the King himſelf remained in a very diſconſolate condition at the Hague. Though he had known the deſperate ſtate his father was long in, yet the barbarous ſtroke ſo ſurpriſed him, that he was in all the confuſion imaginable,

The young King's condition at the Hague.

ginable, and all about him were almoſt bereft of their underſtanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceived, with what a conſternation this terrible news was received by all, even by the common people of that country. There was a woman at the Hague, of the middling rank, who, being with child, with the horror of the mention of it fell into travel, and in it died. There could not be more evidence of a general deteſtation, than there was, amongſt all men of what quality ſoever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States preſented themſelves in a body to his Majeſty, to condole with him for the murder of his father, in terms of great ſorrow, ſave that there was not bitterneſs enough againſt the rebels and murderers. The States of Holland, apart, performed the ſame civility towards his Majeſty; and the body of the Clergy, in a Latin oration, delivered by the chief preacher of the Hague, lamented the misfortune, in terms of as much aſperity, and deteſtation of the actors, as unworthy the name of Chriſtians, as could be expreſſed.

The States condole with him.

The deſperateneſs of the King's condition could not excuſe his ſinking under the burthen of his grief: but thoſe who were about him beſought him to reſume ſo much courage as was neceſſary for his preſent ſtate. He thereupon cauſed thoſe of his father's Council who had attended him to be ſworn of his Privy Council, adding only Mr. Long his ſecretary: who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his mother; who, notwithſtanding the great agony ſhe was in, which without doubt was as great a paſſion of ſorrow as ſhe was able to ſuſtain, wrote to the King, "that he could not do "better, than to repair into France as ſoon as was "poſſible,

The new Council ſworn.

The Queen's firſt meſſage to him.

"poſſible, and, in the mean time, deſired him not to "ſwear any perſons to be of his Council, till ſhe "could ſpeak with him." Whether it was, that ſhe did not think thoſe perſons to be enough at her devotion; or that ſhe would have them receive that honour upon her recommendation.

The King himſelf had no mind to go into France, where he thought he had not been treated with exceſs of courteſy; and he reſolved to perform all filial reſpect towards the Queen his mother, without ſuch a condeſcenſion and reſignation of himſelf, as ſhe expected; and, to avoid all eclairciſſements upon that ſubject, he heartily deſired that any other courſe might be found more counſellable than that he ſhould go into France. He himſelf lived with and upon the Prince of Orange; who ſupplied him with all things neceſſary for his own perſon, for his mourning, and the like: but towards any other ſupport for himſelf and his family, his Majeſty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them who could maintain themſelves in the moſt private way: and it was viſible enough, that they ſhould not be long able to reſide in the Hague; where there was, at that very time, an agent for the Parliament, Strickland; who had been there ſome years, but pretended then to reſide there with his wife, (who was born in Holland of Engliſh parents), and without any public character, though he was ſtill under the ſame credentials. And their advertiſements from London aſſured them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was preſently to be ſent as their ambaſſador, or envoy to the States, to give them an account of their affairs, and to invite them to enter into an alliance with them. So that it was time to think of ſome other retreat for the King; and none

appeared then ſo ſeaſonable in their view, as Ireland; from whence they heard, "that Prince Rupert was "arrived ſafely at Kinſale with the fleet: that the Lord "Inchiquin had made a ceſſation with the Iriſh, before "the Lord Lieutenant came thither; and the Iriſh "had deſerted the Pope's Nuncio, who was driven "away, and had embarked himſelf for France: that "the Marquis of Ormond was received by the Lord "Inchiquin with all the obedience imaginable, by "which he became entirely poſſeſſed of the whole "province of Munſter; and that the confederate Ro-"man Catholics had invited him to Kilkenny; where "he had made a full peace with them: ſo that they "were preparing an army to march under his com-"mand againſt Dublin." This news made them hope, that every day would improve it ſo much, that it would be fit for the King to tranſport his own perſon thither in the ſpring.

The King thinks of going into Ireland. The affairs there at that time.

In this conjuncture there arrived a gentleman, one Sir Joſeph Douglaſs, with a letter from the Privy Council of Scotland, by which they ſent his Majeſty word, that they had proclaimed him King of Scotland; and ſent him the proclamation; and wiſhed "that he "would prepare himſelf to repair into that his king-"dom; in order to which they would ſpeedily ſend "another invitation to him." And that invitation arrived at the ſame time with ſome commiſſioners deputed by the Council, and three or four preachers ſent from the commiſſioners of the Kirk. The proclamation indeed declared, "for that as much as the late "King was, contrary to the diſſent and proteſtation of "that kingdom, removed by a violent death, that, by "the Lord's bleſſing, there was left unto them a "righteous heir, and lawful ſucceſſor, Charles &c.

The King proclaimed in Scotland, and commiſſioners thence ſent to him.

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"who was become their true and lawful King;" but upon condition of "his good behaviour, and ſtrict obſervation of the Covenant, and his entertaining no "other perſons about him but ſuch as were godly men, "and faithful to that obligation." A proclamation ſo ſtrangely worded, that, though it called him their King, manifeſted enough to him, that he was to be ſubject to their determinations, in all the parts of his government. And the commiſſioners, both laity and clergy, ſpoke no other language; and ſaving that they bowed their bodies, and made low reverences, they appeared more like ambaſſadors from a free ſtate to an equal ally, than like ſubjects ſent to their own Sovereign. At the ſame time, though not in the ſame ſhip, arrived likewiſe from Scotland the Earl of Lanrick, and Earl of Lautherdale; the former not knowing, till he came into Holland, that he was Duke Hamilton by the ſlaughter of his elder brother. But they two were ſo far from having any authority from their country, that they were fled from thence as proſcribed perſons and malefactors. The Earl of Lautherdale, after his departure from the Hague, in that diſcontent that is mentioned before, bent his courſe for Scotland. But before he came thither, he was informed, that the ſtate of all things had been reverſed, and the Engagement declared unlawful, and to what penalties himſelf was liable, if he ſhould be taken. Whereupon, without ſuffering his ſhip to go into any port, he found means to ſend on ſhore to ſome friends, and ſo to concert all things, that, without being diſcovered, the Earl of Lanrick, and ſome other perſons, liable to danger if they were found, put themſelves on board the ſame ſhip, and arrived in Holland about that time when the other meſſengers from the State and from the Kirk came from

Lanrick, now Duke Hamilton, and Lautherdale, came to him alſo.

Scotland, and when the news came of the execution of Duke Hamilton.

Whereupon the new Duke kept his chamber for ſome days, without ſo much as waiting on the King; who ſent a gracious meſſage to him to condole for the loſs of his brother; and all the lords, and other perſons of quality about the King, made their viſits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in wiſdom, and parts of underſtanding, to the wiſeſt man of that nation, and was very much eſteemed by thoſe who did not like the complying and inſinuating nature of his brother. He was a man of great honour, courage, and ſincerity in his nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the men of that time, was ſtill the ſame man he pretended to be; and had very much to ſay in his own defence for the errors he had run into; which he acknowledged always with great ingenuity, and abhorred the whole proceedings of his countrymen; and, at this time, brought a heart and affection clearer and leſs clogged with ſcruples and reſervations for the King's ſervice, than any other of them did.

The character of this Duke Hamilton.

Though Cromwell, at his being in Scotland, had left Argyle in full poſſeſſion of the government there, and had reduced and diſbanded all thoſe who were in arms againſt him, and promiſed him all neceſſary aſſiſtance to ſubdue thoſe who ſhould riſe againſt him in that kingdom for the future, and thereby compelled the Committee of Eſtates to convene and ſummon the Parliament to aſſemble, which they had authority to do; and ſo he had ſuppreſſed the party of Hamilton, driven the Earl of Lanrick to hide himſelf in ſome obſcure place, and condemned the Engagement as unlawful and ſinful, and all the perſons who advanced and promoted it, as deſerters of the Covenant, and ſo to

The condition of Scotland about this time.

ſtand

ſtand excommunicated, and not to be capable of ſerving in Parliament, or in the Council of Eſtate; ſo that he was ſure to find no oppoſition in whatſoever he propoſed; yet, after the Parliament had ſerved him ſo far, when they heard that the Parliament in England was broken, and their freedom and privileges were taken from them by the inſolence and power of the army, (which they perfectly hated and deteſted, and all thoſe ſects and libertiniſm they heard were introduced in religion contrary to their Covenant, which Cromwell himſelf had promiſed ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved,) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant itſelf. The delivery of the King's perſon into the hands of the Parliament at Newcaſtle had been, in the inſtant it was done, the moſt unpopular and ungracious act to the whole nation of Scotland, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the army they had then on foot, which took itſelf to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly diſbanded by the cunning of Argyle: and the univerſal indignation againſt that action was the principal incitement to that general engagement with Duke Hamilton, that the honour of the nation might in ſome degree be repaired, or redeemed. It was a groſs overſight in the Hamiltonian party, and diſcerned then to be ſo by the Earl of Lanrick, that, upon that popular advantage, in which he would have found an univerſal concurrence, Argyle himſelf and all his faction had not been totally ſuppreſſed, for the redemption of the honour of their country. But that Duke's politics did not lie that way; and, ſo he might return to his old poſt of favour in England, of which he made little doubt, he was not

willing to give a new beginning to thoſe bloody enterpriſes in Scotland, which, he knew well, uſed not to be ſhort-lived in that climate after once begun, but had always freſh ſacrifices of blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

They had no ſooner heard of the erection of a High Court of Juſtice, and of a purpoſe of trying the King for his life, than, notwithſtanding all the artifices Argyle could uſe, they were all in a flame. As well the Aſſembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renewed the ſenſe they always had of reproach in the delivery of his perſon, of which the preſent danger he was in was the conſequence. And the Marquis of Argyle had had too deep a ſhare in that wickedneſs, to endure the ſhock of a new diſpute, and inquiſition upon that ſubject; and therefore gave not the leaſt oppoſition to their paſſion; but ſeemed equally concerned in the honour of the nation, to proſecute an high expoſtulation with thoſe of England, for the breach of faith, and the promiſes, which had been made for the ſafety and preſervation of the King's perſon, at the time he was delivered up; and therefore propoſed "that commiſ-"ſioners ſhould be forthwith ſent to the Parliament at "London, to require the performance of what they "had promiſed, and to enter their diſſent and proteſt-"ation againſt all their proceedings againſt their King, "in the name of the kingdom of Scotland." And the Earl of Lothian, and two others, who were known to be moſt zealous for the Covenant, and moſt enraged and incenſed againſt the proceedings of the army, were made choice of, and preſently ſent away, that they might make all poſſible haſte to Weſtminſter, and were, immediately upon their arrival, to demand permiſſion

miſſion to wait upon the King, wherever he ſhould be, and to receive from him ſuch farther directions, as he ſhould judge neceſſary for his ſervice.

Thus far Argyle could not oppoſe; and therefore was as zealous as any man to advance it; knowing that the particular inſtructions muſt be prepared by a leſs number of men, and not ſubjected to the examination and peruſal of ſo many. And in thoſe, he was ſure to prevent any inconvenient powers to be granted to the commiſſioners, with whom he had credit enough, having made the Earl of Lothian Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of Lanrick, and the other two being (however ſolicitous for the due obſervation of the Covenant, as he himſelf likewiſe pretended to be) known to be moſt averſe from the Hamiltonian party. Their private inſtructions were, "that they ſhould not, "in their enlargements and aggravations upon the ſub- "ject of their meſſage, ſeem to take notice, or to im- "ply, that any violence had been uſed againſt the "Parliament, or any member of it: that they ſhould "be ſo ſhort in their expoſtulations, that they gave no "occaſion of offence: that nothing ſhould fall from "them juſtifying the King's proceedings, nor in ap- "probation of the late engagement, or which might "import a breach, or give, or be ground of a new war: "they ſhould urge, that the Parliament would delay "to meddle with the King's perſon, according to their "ſeveral promiſes and declarations at Newcaſtle and "at Holmby: that if they ſhould proceed to ſentence "againſt the King, then they were to enter their diſ- "ſent, and proteſt, that this kingdom may be free from "the miſeries which will inevitably follow, without of- "fering in their reaſons, that Princes are exempted "from trial and juſtice: that none in the Parliament of "Scotland

Their private inſtructions from Argyle's party.

"Scotland hath or had any hand in the proceedings "againſt the King, or members of Parliament in Eng- "land. If they proceed, then to ſhew the calamities "that will follow, and how grievous it muſt be to the "kingdom of Scotland, conſidering his being de- "livered up at Newcaſtle: that if the papers which "were entitled, *The Agreement of the People*, appeared "to be countenanced, and ſhould import any thing "concerning the proceſſing of the Prince, or changing "the fundamental government of the kingdom, they "ſhould enter their diſſent: that they ſhould alter "thoſe their inſtructions, and manage their truſt "therein, according to the advice they ſhould receive "from their friends there: that they ſhould proſecute "their inſtructions concerning the Covenant, and "againſt any toleration: that they ſhould ſhew, that "the King's laſt conceſſions were unſatisfactory to "thoſe propoſitions which they had made in point of "religion."

Theſe were their private inſtructions; and who thoſe friends at London were, by whoſe advice they were to alter their inſtructions, or manage their truſt therein, can be underſtood of no other men but Crom- well, and young Sir Harry Vane; with whom Argyle held cloſe correſpondence. The commiſſioners ob- ſerved their inſtructions very faithfully, and, after the King had been twice brought before the High Court of Juſtice, they gave in their very calm proteſtation; in which they put them in mind, "that they had, "near three weeks before, repreſented to them what en- "deavours had been uſed for taking away the King's "life, and for the change of the fundamental govern- "ment of the kingdom, and introducing a ſinful and "ungodly toleration in matters of religion; and that "therein

Upon the King's trial they enter their proteſtation and diſſent.

" therein they had expreſſed their thoughts, and fears
" of the dangerous conſequences, that might follow
" thereupon; and that they had alſo earneſtly preſſed,
" that there might be no farther proceeding againſt his
" Majeſty's perſon, which would certainly continue the
" great diſtractions of the kingdom, and involve them
" in many evils, troubles, and confuſions; but that,
" by the free counſels of both Houſes of Parliament
" of England, and with the advice and conſent of the
" Parliament of Scotland, ſuch courſe might be taken
" in relation to the King, as might be for the good and
" happineſs of both kingdoms; both having an un-
" queſtionable and undeniable right in his perſon, as
" King of both; which duly conſidered, they had rea-
" ſon to hope, that it would have given a ſtop to all
" farther proceedings againſt his Majeſty's perſon. But
" now underſtanding that after the impriſonment and
" excluſion of divers members of the Houſe of Com-
" mons, and without and againſt the conſent of the
" Houſe of Peers, by a ſingle act of their own, and
" theirs alone, power was given to certain perſons of
" their own members, of the army, and ſome others,
" to proceed againſt his Majeſty's perſon, in order
" whereunto he had been brought before that extraor-
" dinary new Court; they did therefore in the name
" of the Parliament of Scotland, for their vindication
" from falſe aſperſions and calumnies, declare, that
" though they were not ſatisfied with his Majeſty's late
" conceſſions, in the treaty at Newport in the Iſle of
" Wight, eſpecially in the matters of religion, and were
" reſolved not to crave his reſtoration to his govern-
" ment, before ſatisfaction ſhould be given by him to
" that kingdom; yet they did all unanimouſly with
" one voice, not one member excepted, diſclaim the

" leaſt

" leaſt knowledge of, or occaſion to, the late proceed-
" ings of the army here againſt the King; and did
" ſincerely profeſs that it would be a great grief to their
" hearts, and lie heavy upon their ſpirits, if they ſhould
" ſee the truſting his Majeſty's perſon to the two
" Houſes of the Parliament of England to be made uſe
" of to his ruin, contrary to the declared intentions of
" the kingdom of Scotland, and ſolemn profeſſions of
" the kingdom of England: and to the end that it
" might be manifeſt to the world, how much they did
" abominate and deteſt ſo horrid a deſign againſt his
" Majeſty's perſon, they did, in the name of the Par-
" liament and kingdom of Scotland, declare their diſ-
" ſent from the ſaid proceedings, and the taking away
" of his Majeſty's life; proteſting, that as they were
" altogether free from the ſame, ſo they might be free
" from all the miſeries, evil conſequences, and cala-
" mities, that might follow thereupon to the diſtracted
" kingdoms."

Whoever conſiders the warineſs in the wording and timing this proteſtation, the beſt end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in priſon, and ſo governing without him in both kingdoms, (which was thought to have been the purpoſe and agreement of Cromwell and Argyle when they parted), muſt conclude that both the commiſſioners, and they who ſent them, laboured and conſidered more, what they were to ſay in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the preſent miſchief they ſeemed to apprehend. And the Parliament beſt knew their temper, when they deferred taking notice of their proteſtation, till after they had executed their execrable villainy; and then they ſent them an anſwer that might ſuit with all their palates. They ſaid, " they had heretofore

" told

" told them, what power this nation had in the funda- The Par-
" mentals of government: that if Scotland had not liament
" the ſame power and liberty, as they went not about King's
" to confine them, ſo they would not be limited by and their
" them, but leaving them to act in theirs as they to it.
" ſhould ſee cauſe, they reſolved to maintain their own
" liberties as God ſhould enable them. And as they
" were very far from impoſing upon them, ſo they
" ſhould not willingly ſuffer impoſitions from them,
" whilſt God gave them ſtrength or lives to oppoſe
" them." They ſaid, " the anſwer they made to their
" firſt and ſecond letter was, that after a long and ſe-
" rious deliberation of their own intrinſical power, and
" truſt, (derived to them by the providence of God,
" through the delegation of the people,) and upon the
" like conſiderations of what themſelves and the whole
" nation had ſuffered from the miſgovernment and ty-
" ranny of that King, both in peace, and by the wars,
" and conſidering, how fruitleſs and full of danger and
" prejudice the many addreſſes to him for peace had
" been, and being conſcious how much they had pro-
" voked and tempted God, by the neglect of the im-
" partial execution of juſtice, in relation to the inno-
" cent blood ſpilt and miſchief done in the late wars,
" they had proceeded in ſuch a courſe of juſtice againſt
" that man of blood, as they doubted not the juſt God
" (who is no reſpecter of perſons) did approve and
" would countenance with his bleſſings upon the na-
" tion; and though perhaps they might meet with
" many difficulties before their liberties and peace were
" ſettled, yet they hoped they ſhould be preſerved from
" confuſion, by the good will of him who dwelt in the
" buſh, which burned, and was not conſumed; and
" that the courſe they had taken with the late King,

" and

" and meant to follow towards others the capital ene-
" mies of their peace, was, they hoped, that which
" would be for the good and happineſs of both na-
" tions; of which if that of Scotland would think to
" make uſe, and vindicate their own liberty and free-
" dom, (which lay before them, if they gave them not
" away,) they would be ready to give them all neigh-
" bourly and friendly aſſiſtance in the eſtabliſhing
" thereof; and deſired them to take it into their moſt
" ſerious conſideration, before they eſpouſed that quar-
" rel, which could bring them no other advantage than
" the entailing upon them, and their poſterities, a laſt-
" ing war, with all the miſeries which attended it, and
" ſlavery under a tyrant and his iſſue."

It cannot be denied, but that Scotland had by this a fair invitation to have made themſelves a poor republic, under the ſhelter and protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the commiſſioners, who well knew how unſuitable ſuch a change would be to the conſtitution of their government, and that they might be welcome to their own country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this anſwer with more courage than they had yet expreſſed; for which, notwithſtanding their qualification, they were impriſoned by the Parliament; and, upon new inſtance from Scotland, ſet at liberty afterwards.

The commiſſioners reply, and are impriſoned, but afterwards freed.

Matters being reduced to this ſtate, the Marquis of Argyle could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which ſince he could not obſtruct, it would be his maſter-piece to clog the proclamation itſelf with ſuch conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and therefore he cauſed this clauſe to be inſerted in the body of the proclamation itſelf,

The Marquis of Argyle clogs the Act for proclaiming of the King with a clauſe for the Covenant.

itſelf, "becauſe his Majeſty is bound, by the law of "God and the fundamental laws of this kingdom, to "rule in righteouſneſs and equity to the honour of "God, and the good of religion, and the wealth of the "people; it is hereby declared, that before he be ad- "mitted to the exerciſe of his royal power, he ſhall "give ſatisfaction to this kingdom in thoſe things "which concern the ſecurity of religion, the unity be- "twixt the kingdoms, and the good and peace of this "kingdom, according to the national Covenant and ſo- "lemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were "reſolved, with all poſſible expedition, to make their "humble and earneſt addreſs to his Majeſty."

This was the proclamation that Sir Joſeph Douglaſs brought to the Hague, and the ſubject upon which the commiſſioners were to invite his Majeſty to go for Scotland, whoſe inſtructions were very ſuitable to the proclamation: and at the ſame time when the commiſſioners came from thence, Middleton, and ſome other officers, who had been in their laſt army, hearing that the Prince was proclaimed King, thought it was ſeaſonable to put themſelves into a poſture to ſerve him upon his arrival; and ſo aſſembled ſome of thoſe troops which had formerly ſerved under them in the north of Scotland; whereupon David Leſley was appointed forthwith, with a party of horſe and foot, againſt thoſe royaliſts, whom they knew to be real aſſertors of his cauſe, without any other intereſt or deſign than of their performing their duties, as loyal ſubjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the ſame time declared, "that, before "the King ſhould be received, albeit they had declared "his right by ſucceſſion, he ſhould firſt ſign the Co- "venant, ſubmit to the Kirk's cenſure, renounce the "ſins of his father's houſe, and the iniquity of his mo- "ther,"

Middleton aſſembles ſome troops in Scotland.

"ther," with other things of the like nature. All which information arrived at the ſame time with the commiſſioners, that they who were about the King might not be too much exalted with their maſter's being declared King of one of his three kingdoms. And it was very manifeſt, by all that paſſed then and afterwards, that the Marquis of Argyle meant only to ſatisfy the people, in declaring that they had a King, without which they could not be ſatisfied, but that ſuch conditions ſhould be put upon him, as he knew he would not ſubmit to; and ſo he ſhould be able, with the concurrence of the Kirk, to govern the kingdom, till, by Cromwell's aſſiſtance and advice, he might reverſe that little approach he had made towards monarchy by proclaiming a King.

Factions in the King's Court with reference to Scotland.

It was a great misfortune to the King, and which always attends Courts which labour under great wants and neceſſities, that, whilſt the greateſt union imaginable amongſt the few friends he had was neceſſary, and of too little power to buoy him up from the diſtreſſes which overwhelmed him, there was yet ſo great a faction and animoſity amongſt them, that deſtroyed any the moſt probable deſign that could offer itſelf; as it now fell out with reference to Scotland, which, if united, might yet be able to give reputation at leaſt, if not a vigorous aſſiſtance to the King's intereſt.

The Marquis of Mountroſe arrives in France.

The Marquis of Mountroſe, who hath been mentioned before, had been obliged by the late King to lay down his arms; and after he had performed ſuch wonderful actions in Scotland, and left that kingdom upon his Majeſty's firſt coming into the Scottiſh army to Newcaſtle, had firſt arrived in France, and had not ſuch a reception from the Queen of England, and thoſe who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable ſervices

vices he had performed for the King had merited. The truth is, he was ſomewhat elated with the great actions he had done; which, upon his firſt coming to Paris, he cauſed to be publiſhed in a full relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of Wales; in which, as his own perſon, courage, and conduct, was well extolled, ſo the reputation of all the reſt of that nation (upon whoſe affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depreſſed; which obliged the Queen and the Prince to look leſs graciouſly upon him; which he could not bear without expreſſing much diſturbance at it. He was then a man of *eclat*, had many ſervants, and more officers, who had ſerved under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen ſhould enable him to maintain with ſome luſtre, by a liberal aſſignation of monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in ſtraits enough, and never open-handed, and uſed to pay the beſt ſervices with receiving them graciouſly, and looking kindly upon thoſe who did them. And her graces were ſtill more towards thoſe who were like to do ſervices, than to thoſe who had done them. So that, after a long attendance, and ſome overtures made by him to Cardinal Mazarine, to raiſe an army for the ſervice of that King, which he did not think were received with that regard his great name deſerved, the Marquis left France, and made a journey into Germany to the Emperor's Court, deſiring to ſee armies, till he could come to command them; and was returned to Bruſſels, about the time that the Prince came back into Holland with the fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for ſome time, till he heard of the murder of the late King. Then he ſent to the King with the tender of his ſervice, and to know, "if his Majeſty thought his attendance upon

Thence goes into Germany

" him might bring any prejudice to his Majeſty; and " if ſo, that he would ſend over the Chancellor of the " Exchequer to Sevenbergh, a town in Flanders, where " he was at preſent to expect him, and had matters to " communicate to him of much importance to his Ma- " jeſty's ſervice." Whether he did this out of modeſty, and that he might firſt know his Majeſty's pleaſure, or out of ſome vanity, that he might ſeem to come to the King, after the coldneſs he had met at Paris, by a kind of treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor preſently to go to him; and, " if he could, without exaſ- " perating him," (which he had no mind to do), wiſhed, " he might be perſuaded rather for ſome time to ſuſ- " pend his coming to the Hague, than preſently to ap- " pear there;" which was an injunction very diſagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgment believed his Majeſty ſhould bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that nation in his eſteem.

The ſudden violent froſt, which ſhut up all the rivers in leſs than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a ſhort time after, and upon another meſſage from him, they met at a village three or four miles off the Hague; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never ſeen him from the time he had left Oxford, when he ſeemed to have very much modeſty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other men. But he had, ſince that time, done ſo many ſignal actions, won ſo many battles, and in truth made ſo great a noiſe in the world, that there appeared no leſs alteration to be in his humour and diſcourſe, than there had been in his fortune. He ſeemed rather to have deſired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a party that would be faſt to him, than out of any

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſent to confer with him in a village near the Hague.

any doubt that his preſence would not be acceptable to his Majeſty. There was yet no news from Scotland ſince the murder of the King, and he ſeemed to think of nothing but that the King would preſently ſend him thither with ſome forces, to prepare the way for himſelf to follow after. They ſpent that night together in conference, and the next morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would ſtay in that place, which did not abound with all things deſirable, or ſomewhere elſe, until he might give him notice, what the King's ſenſe ſhould be of the matters diſcourſed between them; inſiſting principally, "that, "if his going into Scotland ſhould be thought preſently "to be neceſſary, it would then be as neceſſary, that he "ſhould not be taken notice of publicly to have been "with the King:" with which reaſon he ſeemed ſatisfied; and promiſed "not to come to the Hague, till he ſhould "firſt receive advice from the Chancellor." But when he heard of the commiſſioners being come from Scotland, and of the other lords' arrival there, he would no longer defer his journey thither, but came to the Hague well attended by ſervants and officers, and preſented himſelf to the King; who received him with a very good countenance. The Marquis comes to the Hague.

There were at this time in the Hague the commiſſioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into Scotland, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Lautherdale, and others of the nobility of that faction, who were now as odious, and as much perſecuted by that party, which then governed Scotland, and which in that manner invited the King, as any men were who had ſerved the King from the beginning. There was alſo the Marquis of Mountroſe, with more of the nobility, as the Earls of Seaford, and

Kinoul, and others, who adhered to Mountroſe, and believed his clear ſpirit to be moſt like to advance the King's ſervice. Of theſe three parties, it might reaſonably have been hoped that the two laſt, being equally perſecuted by the power that governed, ſhould have been eaſily united to have ſuppreſſed the other. But it was a buſineſs too hard for the King to bring to paſs; and he could as eaſily have perſuaded the Parliament to reject Cromwell, as the lords of the Engagement, and thoſe who had joined with Duke Hamilton, to be reconciled to Mountroſe: ſo that when the King hoped to have drawn all the Scottiſh nobility together, to have conſulted what anſwer he ſhould give to the meſſages he had received from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themſelves were enough offended, thoſe lords of the Engagement did not only refuſe to meet with the Lord Mountroſe, but, as ſoon as he came into the room where they were, though his Majeſty himſelf was preſent, they immediately withdrew, and left the room; and had the confidence to deſire the King, "that the Marquis of Mountroſe" (whom they called James Graham) "might be for-"bidden to come into his Majeſty's preſence, or Court, "becauſe he ſtood excommunicated by the Kirk of "Scotland, and degraded and forfeited by the judi-"catory of that kingdom." This propoſition and demand they made confidently in writing under their hands, and abounded ſo much in this ſenſe, that a learned and worthy Scottiſh divine, Dr. Wiſhart, who was then chaplain to a Scottiſh regiment in the ſervice of the States, being appointed to preach before the King on the Sunday following, they formally beſought the King, "that he would not ſuffer him to preach be-"fore him, nor to come into his preſence, becauſe he "ſtood

The parties of the Scots now at the Hague.

"ſtood excommunicated by the Kirk of Scotland, for "having refuſed to take the Covenant;" though it was known, that the true cauſe of the diſpleaſure they had againſt that Divine was, that they knew he was the author of the excellent relation of the Lord Mountroſe's actions in Scotland. This carriage and behaviour of thoſe lords appeared ridiculous to all ſober men, that any men ſhould have the preſumption to accuſe thoſe who had ſerved the King with that fidelity, and were only branded by thoſe rebellious judicatories for having performed their duties of allegiance, and to demand that the King himſelf ſhould condemn them for having ſerved his father: which made thoſe of his Majeſty's Council full of indignation at their inſolence, and his Majeſty himſelf declared his being offended, by uſing the Marquis of Mountroſe with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor preach with the more attention. But from this very abſurd behaviour, beſides his Majeſty's deſire being fruſtrated, of receiving the joint advice of the nobility of that kingdom in an affair that ſo much concerned himſelf and them; and beſides the diſpleaſure, and diſtance, that it cauſed between them and the King's Council, (who thought the Scottiſh lords might as reaſonably move the King, that they might be removed, who lay under the ſame brand and reproaches in England for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in Scotland), the King had reaſon to be troubled with another apprehenſion, which was, that the Marquis of Mountroſe (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other perſons ſaid or did) would, out of juſt indignation, take revenge upon thoſe perſons whom he contemned too much; and ſo that the peace of the country, where his Majeſty was but a gueſt, would be violated by his ſubjects, as it

were in his own ſight; which would make his abſence from thence the more deſirable.

He, to whom this unreaſonable animoſity was moſt imputed, and who indeed was the great fomenter and proſecutor of it, was the Earl of Lautherdale; whoſe fiery ſpirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a ſubject that could not put him into paſſion, and ſo being in a very fair converſation, deſired him "to in-"form him, what foul offence the Marquis of Mount-"roſe had ever committed, that ſhould hinder thoſe to "make a conjunction with him, who, in reſpect of the "rebels, were in as deſperate a condition as himſelf, "and who could not more deſire the King's reſtitution "than he did." The Earl told him calmly enough, "that he could not imagine or conceive the barba-"rities and inhumanities Mountroſe was guilty of, in "the time he made a war in Scotland; that he never "gave quarter to any man, but purſued all the advan-"tages he ever got, with the utmoſt outrage and "cruelty: that he had in one battle killed fifteen hun-"dred of one family, of the Campbels, of the blood "and name of Argyle, and that he had utterly rooted "out ſeveral names and entire noble families." The other told him, "that it was the nature and condition "of that war, that quarter was given on neither ſide; "that thoſe priſoners which were taken by the Scots, "as once they did take ſome perſons of honour of his "party, were afterwards in cold blood hanged reproach-"fully, which was much worſe than if they had been "killed in the field;" and aſked him, "if Mountroſe "had ever cauſed any man to die in cold blood, or "after the battle was ended; ſince what was done in "it *flagrante*, was more to be imputed to the fierceneſs "of

Earl of Lauther-dale's diſ-courſe againſt Mountroſe.

" of his ſoldiers, than to his want of humanity." The Earl confeſſed, " that he did not know he was guilty " of any thing but what was done in the field;" but concluded with more paſſion, " that his behaviour " there was ſo ſavage, that Scotland would never for- " give him." And in other company, where the ſame ſubject was debated, he ſwore with great paſſion, " that " though he wiſhed nothing more in this world than to " ſee the King reſtored, he had much rather that he " ſhould never be reſtored, than that James Graham " ſhould be permitted to come into the Court:" of which declaration of his the King was informed by William Legg and Sir William Armorer, who were both preſent at the Hague, and in the company, when he ſaid it.

There was at that time in the Hague the Lord Newburgh, who, after the murder of the late King, was compelled, together with his wife, the Lady Aubigney, to fly out of England, Cromwell every day making diſcoveries of correſpondences which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an eſcape from thence, and came to the Hague. That lord having been too young to have had a part in the former war, had been then ſent, by his Majeſty's direction, to be bred in France; from whence he returned not till his Majeſty was in the hands of the Scottiſh army; and from that time he performed all the offices of fidelity and duty to the King, that a generous and worthy perſon could find any opportunity for: with which his Majeſty was abundantly ſatisfied and pleaſed: and he now tranſported himſelf and his wife into Holland, that he might leave her there, and himſelf attend the King in any expedition.

This lady was a woman of a very great wit, and moſt

truſted and converſant in thoſe intrigues, which at that time could be beſt managed and carried on by ladies, who with leſs jealouſy could be ſeen in all companies: and ſo ſhe had not been a ſtranger to the moſt ſecret tranſactions with the Scots, and had much converſation with the Lord Lanrick, during the time the King was at Hampton Court, and whilſt he ſtayed afterwards in London, when the King was impriſoned in the Iſle of Wight; and being now both in the Hague, they had much converſation together. She had likewiſe had long acquaintance and friendſhip with one of the Council, who, ſhe knew, had been as much truſted as any by the father, and was believed to have credit with the preſent King. She lamented thoſe diviſions amongſt the Scots, which every body ſpoke of, and every body knew the diſorder they produced in the King's councils; and ſaid, "ſhe deſired nothing more, than that there were "a good underſtanding between Duke Hamilton and "him; which," ſhe ſaid, "ſhe was ſure would eaſily "be, if they two had but once a frank conference to-"gether." The other, who indeed had an eſteem for the Duke, ſeemed very deſirous of it: and ſhe thereupon told him, that "the Duke had expreſſed to her, "that he would be willing to embrace the occaſion:" and it was ſo concerted, that within a day or two they met as by chance at her lodgings. And ſhe ſo dexterouſly introduced them to a civility towards each other, and to expreſs their inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general converſation there, to which ſhe left them, and went herſelf abroad, they parted with fair profeſſions of future good will; and the other promiſed to viſit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted; and he was with him accordingly, and found him

him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his ſervant to tell any who came to viſit him, that he was aſleep. The other ſpoke of "the proclamation, and the manner of "inviting the King into Scotland, and of the ſtrange "ſpirit that poſſeſſed thoſe who governed there, and "perſuaded them to imagine it poſſible, that the King "could ever be prevailed with to take the Covenant, or "that it could be of advantage to him to do ſo; ſince "it could not but much alienate the affections of all "that party in England that had ſerved his father, "upon whom he ought chiefly to depend for his re-"ſtoration to the government of that kingdom." Then he ſpoke of "the differences and jealouſies which were "between thoſe of that nation who had an equal deſire "to ſerve the King, and ſeemed to be equally proſe-"cuted by the party that now prevailed, which had "excluded both;" and wiſhed "that ſome expedient "might be found out to unite all thoſe; and parti-"cularly that his Grace and the Marquis of Mount-"roſe might be reconciled; towards which, he ſaid, he "was ſure that the Marquis had great inclination, and "had always eſteemed him a man of honour; which "appeared by the book which was publiſhed, where he "was always worthily mentioned, though he had not "dealt ſo well with many others."

Conference between Duke Hamilton and an Engliſh Privy Counſellor concerning the affairs of Scotland.

When the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the firſt part, "concerning "the proclamation, and the manner of inviting the "King to come to them, he was not to make any "other judgment by it, than only of the perſon of the "Marquis of Argyle; who, with the aſſiſtance of ſome "few miniſters, and others his creatures, did at preſent "govern: that Argyle well knew there was an abſolute "neceſſity,

" neceſſity, in reſpect of the whole people, to proclaim " the King after the murder of his father; and there- " fore he could find no other way to keep him from " coming thither, but by clogging the proclamation " and meſſage with thoſe unworthy expreſſions, which " might deter him from putting himſelf into their " hands; which Argyle did not wiſh he ſhould do, " becauſe in his abſence he was ſure he ſhould govern " all, being well agreed with Cromwell how the go- " vernment ſhould be carried; and ſo the King might " be kept out, Cromwell would ſupport him againſt all " other parties; but that they both knew well enough, " that, if his Majeſty were once there, the whole nation " would ſtick to him and obey him." He confeſſed, " that there was generally ſo great a ſuperſtition for " the Covenant, that whoſoever ſhould ſpeak againſt it " for the preſent, would loſe all credit, though he did " acknowledge it had done much miſchief, and would " do more whilſt it ſhould be inſiſted upon; but," he ſaid, " that muſt be a work of time, and an effect of " the King's government: which would find it ne- " ceſſary, in many other reſpects, to leſſen the power " of the miniſters; which being leſſened, the reverence " of the Covenant would quickly fall too; and till then " he, and all men, muſt have patience. For the ſe- " cond," he ſaid, " he wiſhed heartily that there could " be a union of all parties which deſired the King's re- " ſtoration, and that the animoſity againſt the Marquis " of Mountroſe might be extinguiſhed. For his own " part, that he had only one quarrel againſt him, which " was that, by his unjuſt calumnies and proſecution, he " had driven him into rebellion; which nothing elſe " could have done. And for that he always aſked God " forgiveneſs from his heart, and deſired nothing more " than

" than to repair his fault by loſing his life for the King;
" and would, with all his heart, join to-morrow with
" the Marquis of Mountroſe, in carrying on the King's
" ſervice, though he did believe, in that conjuncture,
" the animoſity againſt the Marquis was ſo great, that, if
" he ſhould declare ſuch an inclination, all his own
" friends would fall from him, and abhor him." He ſaid, " his own condition was very hard; for that having
" been always bred up in the Church of England, for
" which he had a great reverence, he was forced to com-
" ply with the Covenant; which he perfectly deteſted,
" and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation; and
" would be as glad as any man of a good opportunity
" to declare againſt it. But," ſaid he, " I dare not ſay
" this; and if I did, I ſhould have no power or credit
" to ſerve the King. There is," ſaid he, " a very wor-
" thy gentleman, who lodges in this houſe, the Earl of
" Lautherdale, my friend and my kinſman; who, upon
" my conſcience, loves me heartily; and yet I dare ſay
" nothing of this to him, either againſt the Covenant,
" or for the Marquis of Mountroſe: and, if I ſhould,
" I believe he would rather chooſe to kill me, than to
" join with me: ſo much he is tranſported with preju-
" dice in both theſe particulars, and ſo incapable to hear
" reaſon upon either of thoſe arguments, though, in all
" other things, few men have a better underſtanding, or
" can diſcourſe more reaſonably."

Whilſt they continued in all poſſible freedom in this conference, the Earl of Lautherdale, who it ſeems was informed of the other's being there, came in his night-gown into the chamber, and ſo broke off the diſcourſe. The other, after ſitting ſome time in general converſation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himſelf told the

the Lady Aubigney, who ſhortly after died there, " he " could not, without giving jealouſy to his friend Lau- " therdale, which he had no mind to do, ſpend ſo much " time with the other in private as he could have been " willing to have done:" and the death of that lady leſſened the opportunities.

In this unſteady and irreſolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifeſt, that, how long ſoever his Majeſty ſhould defer the reſolution, to what place he would remove, he ſhould not be able to ſtay long in the place where he was. The States, eſpecially thoſe of Holland, let fall ſomewhat every day in their councils and conſultations, " that the King's reſiding in the Hague " would be very inconvenient to them;" and it was the great intereſt of the Prince of Orange, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from ſending a meſſage directly to his Majeſty, to deſire him, " that he " would depart from that country, as ſoon as he could." And there happened an accident at this time, which made the reſolution neceſſary, and would inevitably have drawn on that meſſage, which had yet been kept back.

It was touched before, that there was a purpoſe at London, to ſend over an envoy from thence into Holland, to prepare the way for a farther good intelligence and negociation, which might end in a firm peace, and a reciprocal alliance between the two republics. To that purpoſe one Doriſlaus, a Doctor in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in Delpht in Holland, had been bred at Leyden, and afterwards lived long in London, having been received into Greſham College as a Profeſſor in one of thoſe chairs which are endowed for public lectures in that ſociety, and had been, from the beginning of the troubles, in the exerciſe of the Judge Advocate's

Advocate's office in the Earl of Eſſex's army. In this conjuncture this man arrived at the Hague, and took his lodging in a houſe where ſtrangers uſed to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwiſe for their better accommodation. Whilſt he was at ſupper, the ſame evening that he came to the town, in company of many others who uſed to eat there, half a dozen gentlemen entered the room with their ſwords drawn, and required thoſe who were at the table "not to ſtir; for that there "was no harm intended to any but the agent who came "from the rebels in England, who had newly murdered "their King." And one of them, who knew Doriſlaus, pulled him from the table, and killed him at his feet: and thereupon they all put up their ſwords, and walked leiſurely out of the houſe, leaving thoſe who were in the room, in much amazement and conſternation. Though all who were engaged in the enterpriſe went quietly away, and ſo out of the town, inſomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in queſtion, yet they kept not their own counſel ſo well, (believing they had done a very heroic act), but that it was generally known they were all Scottiſh men, and moſt of them ſervants or dependants upon the Marquis of Mountroſe.

Doriſlaus, an agent of the Parliament, killed at the Hague by ſome Scottiſh men.

The King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this accident, which he could not foreſee, and eaſily diſcerned that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly reſent it, in many reſpects; that the man who was killed was in truth their own ſubject, and employed to them, as a public miniſter, by thoſe with whom they had no mind to have any quarrel. Upon all which his Majeſty concluded, that his preſence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: beſides, that there had been the

ſame-

ſame night ſome quarrels and fighting in the ſtreets, between ſome ſervants of the King and ſome gentlemen of the town; in which a ſon of one of the States was dangerouſly hurt, though he recovered afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon theſe diſorders, to which they had not been accuſtomed, with great gravity, and more than ordinary reſpect to the King. They were highly offended with what was paſt, and ſenſible what expoſtulations and clamour for juſtice they muſt expect, and ſuſtain from England, and what reproaches they muſt undergo for ſuffering all thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch a crime, to eſcape the miniſters of juſtice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great ſcandal to their government: yet they proceeded very ſlowly in their inquiſition, and with ſuch formalities as were uſual, (and which could bring no prejudice to the offenders; who were either gone out of their dominions, or concealed themſelves in other towns, where the ſame formalities were to be uſed, if they were diſcovered), and without ſo much reflection upon the King, as if they believed that the guilty perſons had any relation to his ſervice: yet they took notice of "the multitude of ſtrangers which were "in the town, and how impoſſible it would be for them "to preſerve the peace and good government thereof, "if ſuch reſort were not reſtrained." They aggravated exceedingly "the indignity that had been offered to the "State itſelf, in the attempt that had been made upon a "perſon under their protection, and for whoſe ſafety the "public faith was, upon the matter, engaged;" with inſinuation enough, "that it would be fit for the King "to remove from thence." Of all which his Majeſty receiving advertiſement, he thought it better himſelf to give them notice of his purpoſe to leave them, than to expect

expect a plain injunction from them to do ſo. He found this the more neceſſary to be done, ſince from the time that the Scottiſh commiſſioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuſe into the opinions of that people, "that they were ſent from the kingdom of "Scotland, that was entirely and unanimouſly at his "Majeſty's diſpoſal, to invite him to repair thither, and "to take poſſeſſion of his government there, where there "was already an army preparing to aſſiſt him towards "the recovery of his other dominions; but that there "was a party of evil counſellors about his Majeſty, who "diſſuaded him from accepting that their invitation, "except they would be content to change the govern-"ment of their Church, and to eſtabliſh epiſcopacy "there again." And by theſe inſinuations they perſuaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of Biſhops, for whom they had no regard, was the ſole difference between the King and them, which kept the King from going into Scotland: ſo that the King was not without ſome apprehenſion, that, by that miſtake and falſe information, the States might give him advice to accept the Scots' invitation. And therefore he ſent to the States of Holland, "that he had a deſire to ſay "ſomewhat to them, if they would aſſign him an audi-"ence the next day;" which they readily did.

The King was received in the ſame manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the room of council, after a ſhort compliment, he delivered a paper to them, which he deſired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon as ſoon as they pleaſed. The memorial contained, in the firſt place, his Majeſty's acknowledgment of the civilities he had received there, and his deſire "that by them the States "General" (who were not at that time aſſembled) "might

The King gives a viſit to the States of Holland, and delivers them a memorial.

" might be informed of ſuch his Majeſty's ſenſe of their " kindneſs; eſpecially in the full and high deteſtation " they had expreſſed of the impious and unparalleled " murder of his royal father of bleſſed memory, their " faſt and unſhaken ally, by which the forms and rules " of all kind of government were no leſs violated and " diſſolved, than that of monarchy: that he came to " inform them that he did intend, in a ſhort time, ſo to " diſpoſe of his perſon, as might with God's bleſſing " moſt probably advance his affairs; and that for the " better doing thereof, and that he might in ſo impor- " tant an affair receive their particular advice, he ſhould " impart to them the true ſtate and condition of his " ſeveral dominions. That he needed not inform them " of the deplorable condition of his kingdom of England, " where the hearts and affections of his loyal ſubjects " were ſo depreſſed and kept under by the power and " cruelty of thoſe who had murdered their late Sovereign, " and who every day gave freſh and bloody inſtances of " their tyranny, to fright men from their allegiance, " that for the preſent no man could believe that miſer- " able kingdom could be fit for his Majeſty to truſt his " perſon in: that in Scotland, it is very true, that his " Majeſty is proclaimed King, but with ſuch limita- " tions and reſtrictions againſt his exerciſe of his royal " power, that in truth they had only given him the " name, and denied him the authority: that above " five parts of ſix of the nobility and chief gentry of " that kingdom were likewiſe excluded from their juſt " right, and from any part in the adminiſtration of the " public affairs; ſo that that kingdom ſeemed not ſuffi- " ciently prepared for his Majeſty's reception; but that " he hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a " ſhort time a perfect union and right underſtanding

" between

" between all his ſubjects of that his kingdom, and a " due ſubmiſſion and obedience from them all to his " Majeſty, for that he was reſolved (and had never had " the leaſt purpoſe to the contrary) to preſerve and " maintain the government of Church and State in that " kingdom, as it is eſtabliſhed by the laws thereof, with- " out any violation or alteration on his part: ſo that " there could be no difference between him and his ſub- " jects of that kingdom, except they ſhould endeavour, " and preſs his Majeſty to alter the laws and government " of his other kingdoms; which as it would be very " unreaſonable to deſire, ſo it is not in his power to do " if he ſhould conſent, and join with his ſubjects of " Scotland to that purpoſe: which made him confident, " that, when they had throughly weighed and conſider- " ed what was good for themſelves, as well as for him, " they would acquieſce with enjoying the laws and pri- " vileges of that kingdom, without deſiring to infringe " or impoſe upon thoſe of their brethren and neigh- " bours." And his Majeſty deſired the States, " that if " any perſons had endeavoured to make any impreſſions " upon them, that he hath or ever had other intentions " or deſires, with reference to his ſubjects of Scotland, " than what himſelf now expreſſed to them to have, " that they would give no credit to them: and aſſured " them, that they ſhould always find him conſtant to " thoſe reſolutions, and eſpecially, that all ways and " means which might lead to the advancement and pro- " pagation of the Proteſtant religion ſhould be ſo hear- " tily embraced by him, that the world ſhould have " cauſe to believe him to be worthy of his title of *De* " *fender of the Faith*, which he valued as his greateſt " attribute."

This being the true preſent condition of his two king-

doms of England and Scotland, and it being neceſſary for his Majeſty, to give life to the afflicted ſtate of his affairs by his own perſonal activity and vigour, he told them, "there remained only, that he ſhould impart to "them the like ſtate of his other kingdom of Ireland; "which had likewiſe ſent to him, and deſired him to re- "pair thither with great importunity: that the Marquis "of Ormond, his lieutenant there, had concluded a peace "with the Roman Catholics; and that thereby his "Majeſty was entirely poſſeſſed of three parts of four "of that his large and fruitful kingdom, and of the "command of good armies, and of many good ſhips to "be joined to his own fleet; and that he had reaſon to "hope and to believe that Dublin itſelf, and the few "other places, which had ſubmitted to the rebellious "power in England, either already were, upon the know- "ledge of that odious parricide, returned to their allegi- "ance, or would ſpeedily be reduced; of which he ex- "pected every day to receive advertiſement; which if "it ſhould fall out, yet he foreſaw many objections "might be made againſt his going thither, not only in "regard of the difficulty and danger of his paſſage, "but of the jealouſies which would ariſe upon the large "conceſſions which were made unto the Roman Catho- "lics of that kingdom; which could not be avoided." And having thus given them a clear information of the ſtate of his three kingdoms, his Majeſty concluded with his deſire, "that the States would give him their advice "as freely, to which of them he ſhould repair; and "that they would give him all neceſſary aſſiſtance that "he might proſecute their counſel."

Many men feared, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himſelf by this communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himſelf to follow their advice; which

which they apprehended would be contrary to his own judgment. For nothing was more commonly diſcourſed among the Dutch, and by many of the States themſelves, than "that the King ought, without delay, to "throw himſelf into the arms of Scotland, and to gra-"tify them in all they deſired: that Biſhops were not "worth the contending for; and that the ſupporting "them had been the ruin of his father, and would be "his, if he continued in the ſame obſtinacy." But the King had reaſon to believe that they would not ſo much concern themſelves in his broken affairs, as to give him advice what to do: and it was neceſſary for him to get a little more time, upon ſome occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a poſitive reſolution which way to ſteer: for though, in his own opinion, Ireland was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that, notwithſtanding the peace that was made, there were ſeveral parties ſtill in arms there, beſides thoſe who adhered to the Parliament, who refuſed to ſubmit to that peace. Though the general Council at Kilkenny (which had been always looked upon as the repreſentative of the confederate Catholics of that kingdom, and to which they had always ſubmitted) had fully conſented to the treaty of peace with the Lord Lieutenant, yet Owen O'Neile, who had the command of all the Iriſh in Ulſter, and who was looked upon as the beſt general they had, totally refuſed to ſubmit to it, and poſitively proteſted againſt it, as not having provided for their intereſt; and that Council was not ſorry for his ſeparation, there being little leſs animoſity between thoſe of Ulſter and the other Iriſh, than was between them both and the Engliſh: and they knew that O'Neile more inſiſted upon recompence in lands and preferments, than upon any proviſion that concerned religion itſelf. Then

the Scots in Ulſter, who were very numerous, and under good diſcipline, and well provided with arms and ammunition, would not ſubmit to the commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were reſolved to follow the example of their countrymen, and to ſee the King admitted and received, as well as proclaimed, before they would ſubmit to his authority: which made the Marquis of Ormond the leſs troubled at the obſtinacy of O'Neile, (though he had uſed all the means he had to draw him in), ſince he preſumed the Scots and he would mortify each other, during the time that he ſhould ſpend in making himſelf ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs them both: for the Scots who would not join with the Marquis were very vigorous in proſecuting the war againſt O'Neile, and the Iriſh of Ulſter. Theſe diviſions, factions, and confuſions in Ireland, made the King the more ſolicitous that his Council ſhould be unanimous for his going thither, at leaſt that the Scots, how virulent ſoever againſt each other, ſhould all concur in their advice, "that it was not yet ſeaſonable for him to go for "Scotland;" which made him labour ſo much to bring the Hamiltonians, and thoſe who followed Mountroſe, whom he believed both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it jointly to the King in council: but it is ſaid before how impoſſible it was to obtain that conjunction.

When the King found that it was not poſſible to bring the lords of the Scottiſh nation together to confer upon the affairs of that kingdom, he thought to have drawn them ſeverally, that is, thoſe of the Engagement by themſelves, and the Marquis of Mountroſe with his friends by themſelves, to have given him their advice in the preſence of his Council, that ſo, upon debate thereof between them, his Majeſty might the more maturely have determined

determined what he was to do. The Marquis of Mountroſe expreſſed a great willingneſs to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction this or any other way, being willing to deliver his opinion concerning things, or perſons, before any body, and in any place. But the lords of the Engagement poſitively refuſed to deliver their opinion, but to the King himſelf, and not in the preſence of his Council; which, they ſaid, "would be to confeſs a kind "of ſubordination of the kingdom of Scotland, which "was independent on the Council of England;" and Duke Hamilton told the counſellor, with whom he had before ſo freely converſed, and who expoſtulated with him upon it, "that it was the only ground of the heavy "judgment in Parliament againſt the Earl of Traquair, "that, having been the King's commiſſioner in Scot-"land, he gave account to the King of tranſactions, "and of the affairs of that kingdom, at the Council "Table in England; whereof he was likewiſe a mem-"ber; ſo jealous that kingdom was, and ſtill is, of their "native privileges;" and therefore deſired, "that he "might not be preſſed to do what had been ſo penal to "another in his own ſight."

The King ſatisfied himſelf with having all their opinions delivered to himſelf, ſubſcribed under all their hands, which every one conſented to: though moſt of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into Scotland, upon what condeſcenſions ſoever; becauſe they all believed his preſence would eaſily turn all, and that they ſhould be quickly reſtored to their eſtates, which they cared moſt for; yet nobody preſumed to give that advice, or ſeemed to think it ſeaſonable. So that the King reſumed the former debate of going directly for Ireland, and direction was given for providing ſhips, and all other things neceſſary for that

voyage. There remained only one doubt, whether his Majeſty ſhould take France in his way, that he might ſee his mother, who by letters and meſſages preſſed him very earneſtly ſo to do; or whether he ſhould embark in Holland directly for Ireland; which would be leſs loſs of time, and might be done early in the ſpring, before the Parliament's fleet ſhould put out to ſea.

They who did not wiſh that the Queen ſhould exerciſe any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were againſt his going into France, as "an "occaſion of ſpending more time than his affairs would "permit, and an obligation to make a greater expence "than he had, or knew where to have, means to defray:" and they thought it an argument of moment, "that, "from the time of the murder of his father, the King "had never received letter of condolement from France, "nor the leaſt invitation to go thither." On the other ſide, they who wiſhed and hoped that the Queen would have ſuch an influence upon the King that his Council ſhould have leſs credit with him, deſired very much that his Majeſty would make France his way. The Scots deſired it very much, believing they ſhould find her Majeſty very propitious to their counſels, and inclined to truſt their undertakings; and they were very ſure that Mountroſe would never go to Paris, or have credit with the Queen.

The Prince of Orange, and the Princeſs Royal his wife, had a great deſire to gratify the Queen, and that the King ſhould ſee her in the way; and propoſed, "that his Majeſty might appoint a place, where the "Queen and he might meet, without going to Paris; "and, after three or four days ſtay together, his Majeſty "might haſten his journey to ſome convenient port, "from whence he might embark for Ireland by a ſhorter

"paſſage

" paſſage than from Holland; and the Prince of Orange " would appoint two ſhips of war, to attend his Majeſty " in that French port, before he ſhould get thither." His Majeſty inclined this way, without poſitively reſolving upon it; yet directed " that his own goods of bulk, " and his inferior ſervants, ſhould be preſently embark- " ed to take the directeſt paſſage to Ireland;" and ordered " that the reſt, who were to wait upon his perſon, " ſhould likewiſe ſend their goods and baggage, and " ſuch ſervants who were not abſolutely neceſſary for " their preſent ſervice, upon the ſame ſhips for Ireland;" declaring, " that, if he made France his way, he would " make all poſſible haſte, and go with as light a train as " he could." Hereupon two ſhips were ſhortly after provided, and many perſons (and great ſtore of baggage) embarked for Ireland, and arrived there in ſafety; but moſt of the perſons, and all the goods, miſcarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

This reſolution being taken, the Lord Cottington, who had a juſt excuſe from his age, being then ſeventy-five years old, to wiſh to be in ſome repoſe, conſidered with himſelf how to become diſentangled from the fatigue of thoſe voyages and journeys, which he ſaw the King would be obliged to make. In Holland he had no mind to ſtay, having never loved that people, nor been loved by them; and he thought the climate itſelf was very pernicious to his health, by reaſon of the gout, which frequently viſited him. France was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was looked upon as one who had been always addicted to Spain, and no friend to the Crown of France; ſo that he was willing to find a good occaſion to ſpend the re-

mainder of his age where he had ſpent ſo much of his youth, in Spain, and where he believed that he might be able to do the King more ſervice than any other way. And there was newly come to the Hague an Engliſh gentleman, who had been an officer in the King's army, and was in Madrid when the news came thither of the murder of the King: and he related many particulars of the paſſion and indignation of that Court, upon that occaſion, againſt the rebels; that "the King, and all "the Court, put themſelves into ſolemn mourning;" (and he repeated ſome expreſſions which the King and Don Lewis de Haro had made of tenderneſs and compaſſion for our King); and that "the King of Spain "ſpoke of ſending an ambaſſador to his Majeſty."

Conference between the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the King's ſending an embaſſy into Spain.

Theſe relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly ſoever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord Cottington took occaſion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a ſtrict friendſhip, they living and keeping houſe together) of "the ill condition the King was in, and that "he ought to think, what Prince's kindneſs was like to "be of moſt uſe and benefit to his Majeſty, and from "whom he might hope to receive a ſum of money; if "not as much as might ſerve for a martial expedition, "yet ſuch an annual exhibition as might ſerve for his "ſupport: that he had already experience of France, "and knew well the intelligence that the Cardinal had "at that very time with Cromwell: but he did verily "believe, that if the King of Spain were dexterouſly "treated with, and not more aſked of him than could "conſiſt with his affairs to ſpare, a good yearly ſupport "might be procured there, and the expectation of it "might be worth the King's ſending an ambaſſador "thither." He ſaid, "he was more of that opinion

"ſince

" ſince the King had taken the reſolution of going for " Ireland; where the King of Spain's credit might be " of great benefit to him: that Owen O'Neile, and the " old Iriſh of Ulſter, were ſtill in arms againſt the " King; and would not ſubmit to the conditions which " the general Council of the confederate Catholics had " conſented to with the Marquis of Ormond: that " O'Neile had been bred in Spain, and had a regiment " in Flanders, and ſo muſt have an abſolute dependence " upon his Catholic Majeſty, for whom all the old Iriſh " had ever had a particular devotion; and if it were only " to diſpoſe him and that people to the King's obedience, " and to accept thoſe conditions which might conveni- " ently be given to them, it were well worth ſuch a jour- " ney; and the King of Spain would never refuſe to " gratify the King to the utmoſt that could be deſired " in that particular." The Chancellor thought this diſcourſe not unreaſonable, and aſked him, " who would be " fit to be ſent thither?" not imagining that he had any thought of going thither himſelf. He anſwered, " that, " if the King would be adviſed by him, he ſhould ſend " them two thither, and he did believe they ſhould do " him very good ſervice."

The Chancellor was weary of the company he was in, and the buſineſs, which, having no proſpect but towards deſpair, was yet rendered more grievous by the continual contentions and animoſities between perſons. He knew he was not in the Queen's favour at all, and ſhould find no reſpect in that Court. However, he was very ſcrupulous, that the King might not ſuſpect that he was weary of his attendance, or that any body elſe might believe that he withdrew himſelf from waiting longer upon ſo deſperate a fortune. In the end, he told the Lord Cottington, " that he would only be paſſive in the " point,

" point, and refer it entirely to him, if he thought fit to " diſpoſe the King to like it; and if the King approved " it ſo much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor, " and commend it as a thing he thought for his ſervice, " he would ſubmit to his command."

The Lord Cottington's heart was much ſet upon this employment, and he managed ſo warily with the King, and preſented the whole ſcheme to him ſo dexterouſly, that his Majeſty was much pleaſed with it; and ſhortly after declared his reſolution publicly, " to ſend the Lord " Cottington, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his " ambaſſadors extraordinary into Spain;" and commanded them " to prepare their own commiſſion and " inſtructions; and to begin their journey as ſoon as " was poſſible."

The King declares thoſe two to be his ambaſſadors.

Before the King could begin his own journey for France, and ſo to Ireland, his Majeſty thought it neceſſary, upon the whole proſpect of his affairs with reference to all places, to put his buſineſs into as good a method as he could, and to diſpoſe of that number of officers, and ſoldiers, and other perſons, who had preſented themſelves to be applied to his ſervice, or to leave them to take the beſt courſe they could for their own ſubſiſtence. Of theſe, many were ſent into Ireland with the ſhips which carried the King's goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of Ormond, " to put " them into his army till the King came thither." Since the Scots were no better diſpoſed to ſerve, or receive the King for the preſent, his Majeſty was reſolved to give the Marquis of Mountroſe all the encouragement he deſired to viſit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

There was then at the Hague Cornificius Wolfelte, ambaſſador extraordinary from the King of Denmark to the

the States General; who came with a great train and great ſtate, and was himſelf a man of vanity and oſtentation, and took pains to be thought ſo great a man by his own intereſt, that he did not enough extol the power of his maſter; which proved his ruin after his return. He had left Denmark before the news came thither of the murder of the King, and ſo he had no credentials for his Majeſty, by reaſon whereof he could not receive any public formal audience; but deſired "the King's leave "that he might, as by accident, be admitted to ſpeak "to him at the Queen of Bohemia's Court;" where his Majeſty uſed to be every day; and there the ambaſſador often ſpoke to him. The Marquis of Mountroſe had found means to endear himſelf much to this ambaſſador, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in Denmark, if the King would ſend him thither, and that he might obtain arms and ammunition there for Scotland. The ambaſſador told him, "that, if the King would write a letter to him "to that purpoſe, he would preſently ſupply him "with ſome money and arms, in aſſurance that his maſ-"ter would very well approve of what he ſhould do." The Marquis of Mountroſe well knew that the King was not able to ſupply him with the leaſt proportion of money to begin his journey; and therefore he had only propoſed, "that the King would give him letters, in the "form he preſcribed, to ſeveral Princes in Germany, "whoſe affections he pretended to know;" which letters he ſent by ſeveral officers, who were to bring the ſoldiers or arms they ſhould obtain, to a rendezvous he appointed near Hamburg; and reſolved himſelf to go into Sweden and Denmark, in hope to get ſupplies in both thoſe places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution

contribution of many Scottiſh officers, who had command and eſtates in thoſe countries; and to have credentials, by virtue of which he might appear ambaſſador extraordinary from the King, if he ſhould find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negociate his buſineſs in private, and without any public character. All this was reſolved before his confidence, at leaſt his familiarity, with the ambaſſador was grown leſs. But, upon the encouragement he had from him, he moved the King "for his letter to the ambaſſador, to aſſiſt the "Marquis of Mountroſe with his advice, and with his "intereſt in Denmark, and in any other Court, to the "end that he might obtain the loan of monies, arms, "and ammunition, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to "enable the Marquis to proſecute his intended deſcent "into Scotland." The King, glad that he did not preſs for ready money, which he was not able to ſupply him with, gave him ſuch letters as he deſired to all perſons, and particularly to the ambaſſador himſelf, who, having order from his maſter to preſent the King with a ſum of money for his preſent occaſions, never informed the King thereof, but adviſed Mountroſe to procure ſuch a letter from his Majeſty to him; which being done, the Marquis received that money from him, and likewiſe ſome arms; with which he begun his unfortunate enterpriſe; and proſecuted his journey to Hamburg; where he expected to meet his German troops, which he believed the officers he had ſent thither with the King's letters would be well able to raiſe, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe Princes to whom they had been ſent. But he was carried on by a ſtronger aſſurance he had received from ſome prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "that he ſhould by his valour recover "Scotland

The Marquis of Mountroſe goes to Hamburg.

" Scotland for the King, and from thence conduct an " army that ſhould ſettle his Majeſty in all his other do- " minions."

There had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to England ſince the murder of his father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was ſo terrible a conſternation, that ſtill poſſeſſed the ſpirits of that people, that though men's affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the horror and deteſtation they had of the late parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken courage; nor was it believed poſſible for any man to contribute any thing, at preſent, for their deliverance. However, moſt men were of opinion, " that " it was neceſſary for the King to publiſh ſome declara- " tion, that he might not ſeem utterly to give over his " claim there; and to keep up the ſpirits of his friends." And many from England, who in the midſt of their deſpair would give ſome counſel, adviſed, " that there " might be ſomewhat publiſhed by the King that " might give ſome check to the general ſubmitting to " the Engagement, which was ſo univerſally preſſed " there." The King being every day advertiſed, how much this was deſired and expected, and the Scottiſh lords being of the ſame opinion, hoping that ſomewhat might be inſerted in it that might favour the Preſbyterians, his Majeſty propoſed at the Council, " that there " might be ſome draught prepared of a proclamation, " or declaration, only with reference to the kingdom of " England;" and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been moſt converſant in inſtruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, " that he did not know what ſuch a declara- " tion could contain, and therefore that he thought it

The Chancellor of the Exchequer appointed to make a declaration relating to England.

" not

"not ſeaſonable to publiſh any." The Prince of Orange was preſent at that Council, and, whether from his own opinion, or from the ſuggeſtion of the Scottiſh lords, who were much favoured by him, he wiſhed, "that, in regard of the great differences which were in "England about matters of religion, the King would "offer, in this declaration, to refer all matters in contro-"verſy concerning religion to a national ſynod; in "which there ſhould be admitted ſome foreign divines "from the Proteſtant churches;" which, he thought, would be a popular clauſe, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believed no objection could be made againſt it; and ſo thought fit ſuch a clauſe ſhould be inſerted.

Within a ſhort time after the Council was parted, the Prince of Orange ſent for the Lord Cottington, and told him, "he was not enough acquainted with the Chancel-"lor of the Exchequer, but deſired him to entreat him "not to be too ſharp in this declaration, the end where-"of was to unite and reconcile different humours; and "that he found many had a great apprehenſion, that "the ſharpneſs of his ſtyle would irritate them much "more." The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord Lautherdale, and he wiſhed heartily that the charge might be committed to any body elſe, proteſting, "that he was never leſs diſpoſed in his "own conceptions and reflections to undertake any "ſuch taſk in his life; and that he could not imagine "how it was poſſible for the King to publiſh a declara-"tion at that time, (his firſt declaration,) without much "ſharpneſs againſt the murderers of his father;" which nobody could ſpeak againſt; nor could he be excuſed from the work impoſed upon him: and the Prince of Orange aſſured him, "it was not that kind of ſharpneſs "which

"which he wiſhed ſhould be declined:" and though he ſeemed not willing farther to explain himſelf, it was evident that he wiſhed that there might not be any ſharpneſs againſt the Preſbyterians, for which there was at that time no occaſion.

There was one particular, which, without a full and diſtinct inſtruction, the Chancellor could not preſume to expreſs. The great end of this declaration was to confirm the affection of as many as was poſſible for the King, and, conſequently, as few were to be made deſperate as might conſiſt with the King's honour, and neceſſary juſtice; ſo that how far that clauſe, which was eſſential to a declaration upon this ſubject, concerning the indemnity of perſons, ſhould extend, was the queſtion. And in this there was difference of opinions; the moſt prevalent was, "that no perſons ſhould be excepted from pardon, but only ſuch who had an immediate "hand in the execrable murder of the King, by being "his judges, and pronouncing that ſentence, and they "who performed the execution." Others ſaid, they "knew that ſome were in the liſt of the judges, and "named by the Parliament, who found excuſes to be "abſent;" and others, that "ſome who were not "named, more contrived and contributed to that "odious proceeding, than many of the actors in it." But the reſolution was, that the former ſhould be only comprehended.

When the declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep ſilence, no man ſpeaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a ſecond reading it, againſt which time every man might be better prepared to ſpeak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of Orange, in regard he was not a perfect maſter of the Engliſh tongue, deſired he might have a copy

copy of it, that he might the better underſtand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer deſired, "that not only "the Prince of Orange might have a copy, but that his "Majeſty would likewiſe have one, and, after he ſhould "have peruſed it himſelf, he would ſhew it to any "other, who he thought was fit to adviſe with;" there being many lords and other perſons of quality about him, who were not of the Council, and he moved, "that he might have liberty himſelf to communicate it "to ſome who were like to make a judgment, how far "any thing of that nature was like to be acceptable, "and agreeable to the minds of the people;" and named Herbert the Attorney General, and Dr. Steward, who was Dean of the chapel; and his opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been adviſed by his father to ſubmit to. All which was approved by the King; and, for that reaſon, a farther day was appointed for the ſecond reading. The iſſue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the ſame opinion of the whole, there were not two perſons who were admitted to the peruſal of it, who did not take ſome exception to it, though ſcarce two made the ſame exception.

Different opinions in the King's Council about it when it was read.

Doctor Steward, though a man of a very good underſtanding, was ſo exceedingly grieved at the clauſe of admitting foreign divines into a ſynod that was to conſult upon the Church of England, that he could not be ſatisfied by any arguments that could be given of "the "impoſſibility of any effect, or that the Parliament "would accept the overture; and that there could be "no danger if it did, becauſe the number of thoſe fo-"reign divines muſt be ſtill limited by the King;" but came one morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a friendſhip, and proteſted "he had not ſlept that "night

"night, out of the agony and trouble, that he, who he "knew loved the Church ſo well, ſhould conſent to a "clauſe ſo much againſt the honour of it;" and went from him to the King, to beſeech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion, "that there were too few excepted "from pardon; by which the King would not have con-"fiſcations enough to ſatisfy and reward his party:" and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; "and that it was not prudent to make ſo many men "deſperate; but that it would be ſufficient to except "Cromwell, and Bradſhaw, and three or four more of "thoſe whoſe malice was moſt notorious; the whole "number not to exceed ſix."

The Scots did not value the clauſe for foreign divines, who, they knew, could perſuade little in an Engliſh ſynod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mentioned the government of the Church of England, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with ſo much reverence and devotion; which was the ſharpneſs they moſt feared of the Chancellor's ſtyle, when they thought now the Covenant to be neceſſary to be inſiſted upon more than ever. So that, when the declaration was read at the Board the ſecond time, moſt men being moved with the diſcourſes, and fears which were expreſſed abroad of ſome ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly debated, and men ſeemed not to think that the publiſhing any, at this time, was of ſo much importance, as they formerly had conceived it to be. By all which men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to reſolve, and act with that ſteadineſs and reſolution, which the moſt unproſperous condition doth more require than the ſtate that is leſs perplexed and entangled. Thus the declaration ſlept without farther propoſition to publiſh any.

upon which it was laid aſide

All things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two ambaſſadors for Spain were very ſolicitous to begin their journey, the King being at laſt reſolved not to give his mother the trouble of making a journey to meet him, but to go himſelf directly to St. Germain's, where her Majeſty was. The Prince of Orange, to advance that reſolution, had promiſed to ſupply the King with twenty thouſand pounds; which was too great a loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to diſcharge the debts he and his family had contracted at the Hague, and to make his journey. Out of this ſum the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor were to receive ſo much as was deſigned to defray their journey to Paris: what was neceſſary for the diſcharge of their embaſſy, or for making their journey from Paris, was not yet provided. The King had ſome hope, that the Duke of Lorrain would lend him ſome money; which he deſigned for this ſervice; which made it neceſſary that they ſhould immediately reſort to Bruſſels, to finiſh that negociation, and from thence to proſecute their journey.

In the ſoliciting their firſt diſpatch at the Hague, they made a diſcovery that ſeemed very ſtrange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their journey having been put off ſome days, only for the receipt of that ſmall ſum, which was to be paid them out of the money to be lent by the Prince of Orange, and Hemflet, the Prince's chief officer in ſuch affairs of money, having been ſome days at Amſterdam to negociate that loan, and no money being returned, they believed that there was ſome affected delay; and ſo went to the Prince of Orange, who had adviſed, and was well pleaſed with that embaſſy, to know when

when that money would be ready for the King, that he might likewiſe reſolve upon the time for his own journey. The Prince told them, he believed, "that they, who "knew London ſo well, and had heard ſo much diſ- "courſe of the wealth of Holland, would wonder very "much that he ſhould have been endeavouring above ten "days to borrow twenty thouſand pounds; and that the "richeſt men in Amſterdam had promiſed him to ſup- "ply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet pro- "vided." He ſaid, "it was not that there was any queſtion "of his credit, which was very good; and that the ſecu- "rity he gave was as good as any body deſired, and upon "which he could have double the ſum in leſs time, if he "would receive it in paper, which was the courſe of that "country; where bargains being made for one hundred "thouſand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was "never known that twenty thouſand pounds was paid "together in one town; but by bills upon Rotterdam, "Harlem, the Hague, and Antwerp, and other places, "which was as convenient, or more, to all parties; and "he did verily believe, that though Amſterdam could "pay a million within a month, upon any good occa- "ſion, yet they would be troubled to bring twenty thou- "ſand pounds together into any one room; and that "was the true reaſon, that the money was not yet "brought to the Hague; which it ſhould be within few "days;" as it was accordingly.

The ambaſſadors took their leave of the King at the Hague before the middle of May, and had a yacht from the Prince of Orange, that attended them at Rotterdam, and tranſported them with great convenience to Antwerp, where the Chancellor's wife and his family were arrived ten days before, and were ſettled in a good and convenient houſe; where the Lord Cottington and he both

The ambaſſadors for Spain begin their journey.

lodged whilſt they ſtayed in that city. There they met the Lord Jermyn in his way towards the King, to haſten the King's journey into France, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad they were both come away from the King, and believed he ſhould more eaſily prevail with his Majeſty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days ſtay at Antwerp, they went to Bruſſels to deliver their credentials both to the Archduke and the Duke of Lorrain, and to viſit the Spaniſh miniſters, and, upon their landing at Bruſſels, they took it for a good omen, that they were aſſured, "that Le "Brune, who had been one of the plenipotentiaries at "the treaty of Munſter, on the behalf of the King of "Spain, was then in that town with credentials to viſit "the King, and to condole with him." They had an audience, the next day, of the Archduke: they performed the compliments to him from the King, and informed him of their embaſſy into Spain, and deſired his recommendation, and good offices in that Court; which he, according to his ſlow and formal way of ſpeaking, conſented to: and they had no more to do with him, but received the viſits from the officers, in his name, according to the ſtyle of that Court. Their main buſineſs was with the Duke of Lorrain, to procure money for their journey into Spain.

They viſit the Duke of Lorrain at Bruſſels.

The Duke was a prince that lived in a different manner from all other ſovereign princes in the world: from the time, that he had been driven out of his country by France, he had retired to Bruſſels with his army, which he kept up very ſtrong, and ſerved the King of Spain with it againſt the French, upon ſuch terms and conditions as were made, and renewed every year between them; by which he received great ſums of money yearly from the Spaniard, and was ſure very rich in money.

money. He always commanded apart in the field, his officers received no orders but from himſelf: he always agreed at the council of war what he ſhould do, and his army was in truth the beſt part of the Spaniſh forces. In the town of Bruſſels he lived without any order, method, or ſtate of a Prince, except towards the Spaniards in his treaties, and being preſent in their councils, where he always kept his full dignity: otherwiſe, he lived in a jolly familiarity with the bourgeois and their wives, and feaſted with them, but ſcarce kept a court, or any number of ſervants, or retinue. The houſe wherein he lived was a very ordinary one, and not furniſhed; nor was he often there, or eaſy to be found; ſo that the ambaſſadors could not eaſily ſend to him for an audience. He received them in a lower room with great courteſy and familiarity; and viſited them at their own lodging. He was a man of great wit, and preſence of mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no man knew better how to act the prince. He loved his money very much; yet the Lord Cottington's dexterity and addreſs prevailed with him to lend the King two thouſand piſtoles; which was all that was in their view for defraying their embaſſy. But they hoped they ſhould procure ſome ſupply in Spain, out of which their own neceſſary expences muſt be provided for.

There were two Spaniards, by whom all the councils there were governed and conducted, and which the Archduke himſelf could not control; the Conde of Pignoranda (who was newly come from Munſter, being the other plenipotentiary there; and ſtayed only at Bruſſels, in expectation of renewing the treaty again with France; but, whilſt he ſtayed there, was in the higheſt truſt of all the affairs) and the Conde of Fuenſaldagna, who was the governor of the arms, and commanded

the army next under the Archduke; which was a ſubordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert men in buſineſs, and if they were not very wiſe men, that nation had none. The former was a man of the robe, of a great wit, and much experience, proud, and, if he had not been a little too pedantic, might very well be looked upon as a very extraordinary man, and was much improved by the excellent temper of Le Brune, (the other plenipotentiary,) who was indeed a wiſe man, and by ſeeming to defer in all things to Pignoranda, governed him. The Conde of Fuenſaldagna was of a much better temper, more induſtry, and more inſinuation than Spaniards uſe to have: his greateſt talent lay to civil buſineſs; yet he was the beſt general of that time to all other offices and purpoſes, than what were neceſſary in the hour of battle, when he was not ſo preſent and compoſed as at all other ſeaſons.

Both theſe received the ambaſſadors with the uſual civilities, and returned their viſits to their own lodging, but ſeemed not pleaſed with their journey to Madrid, and ſpoke much of the neceſſities that Crown was in, and its diſability to aſſiſt the King; which the ambaſſadors imputed to the influence Don Alonzo de Cardinas had upon them both; who remained ſtill under the ſame character in England he had done for many years before. The ſame civilities were performed between Le Brune and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encouraged them to hope well from their negociation in Spain; acquainted them with his own inſtructions, "to give the King all aſſurance of the af-"fection of his Catholic Majeſty, and of his readineſs "to do any thing for him that was in his power." He ſaid, "he only deferred his journey, becauſe he heard "that

" that the King intended to ſpend ſome time at Breda; " and he had rather attend him there, than at the " Hague."

When the ambaſſadors had diſpatched all their buſineſs at Bruſſels, and received the money from the Duke of Lorrain, they returned to Antwerp; where they were to negociate for the return of their monies to Madrid; which required very much warineſs, the bills from thence finding now more difficulties at Madrid, than they had done in former times.

By the letters my Lord Jermyn brought, and the importunity he uſed, the King reſolved to begin his journey ſooner than he thought to have done, that is, ſooner than he thought he ſhould have been able, all proviſions being to begin to be made both for his journey into France, and from thence into Ireland, after the money was received that ſhould pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was ſo great to ſee his Majeſty, that the Prince of Orange, and the Princeſs Royal his wife, were as impatient to give her that ſatisfaction. Though her Majeſty could not juſtly diſlike any reſolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he ſhould go but into Ireland, ſhe was exceedingly diſpleaſed that any reſolution at all had been taken before ſhe was conſulted. She was angry that the counſellors were choſen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the affairs; all which ſhe imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer: nevertheleſs ſhe was not pleaſed with the deſign of the negociation in Spain. For though ſhe had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her commands, yet ſhe had all confidence in his duty and integrity to the King, and therefore wiſhed he ſhould be

ſtill about his perſon, and truſted in his buſineſs; which ſhe thought him much fitter for than ſuch a negociation, which ſhe believed, out of her natural prejudice to Spain, would produce no advantage to the King.

The King removes to Breda.

That the Queen might receive ſome content, in knowing that the King had begun his journey, the Prince of Orange deſired him, "whilſt his ſervants pre- "pared what was neceſſary at the Hague, that himſelf, "and that part of his train that was ready, would go to "Breda, and ſtay there till the reſt were ready to come "up to him;" that being his beſt way to Flanders, through which he muſt paſs into France. Breda was a town of the Prince's own, where he had a handſome palace and caſtle, and a place where the King might have many divertiſements. Hither the Spaniſh ambaſſador, Le Brune, came to attend his Majeſty, and delivered his maſter's compliments to his Majeſty, and offered his own ſervices to him, whilſt he ſhould remain in thoſe provinces; he being at that time deſigned to remain ambaſſador to the United Provinces; as he did; and died ſhortly after at the Hague, with a general regret. He was born a ſubject to the King of Spain, in that part of Burgundy that was under his dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in buſineſs, and being a man of great parts and temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the beſt ſtateſmen in Chriſtendom, and who beſt underſtood the true intereſt of all the Princes of Europe.

As ſoon as the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor heard of the King's being at Breda, and that he intended to haſten his journey for France, they reſolved, having in truth not yet negociated all things neceſſary for their journey, to ſtay till the King paſſed by, and not to go to St. Germain's till the firſt interview, and eclairciſſements

ciſſements were paſſed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what weather was like to be.

The King was received at Antwerp with great magnificence: he entered in a very rich coach with ſix horſes, which the Archduke ſent a preſent to him when he came into the Spaniſh dominions: he was treated there, at the charge of the city, very ſplendidly for two days: and went then to Bruſſels, where he was lodged in the palace, and royally entertained. But the French army, under the command of the Conte de Harcourt, was two days before ſet down before Cambray; with the news whereof the Spaniſh Council was ſurpriſed, and in ſo much diſorder, that the Archduke was gone to the army to Mons, and Valenciennes, whilſt the King was in Antwerp; ſo that the King was received only by his officers: who performed their parts very well. Thence to Antwerp. Thence to Bruſſels.

Here the Conde of Pignoranda waited upon the King in the quality of an ambaſſador, and covered. And his Majeſty ſtayed here three or four days, not being able ſuddenly to reſolve which way he ſhould paſs into France. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the French thought to have ſurpriſed that town, and to have caſt up their line of circumvallation before any ſupplies could be put in; but the Conde Fuenſaldagna found a way to put ſeven or eight hundred foot into the town; upon which the French raiſed the ſiege; and ſo the King made his journey by the uſual way; and, near Valenciennes, had an interview with the Archduke; and, after ſome ſhort ceremonies, continued on his journey, and lodged at Cambray; where he was likewiſe treated by the Conde de Garcies, who was governor there, and a very civil gentleman. The King had an interview with the Archduke near Valenciennes.

About

About a week after the King left Bruſſels, the two ambaſſadors proſecuted their journey for Paris; where they ſtayed only one day, and then went to St. Germain's; where the King and the Queen his mother, with both their families, and the Duke of York's, then were; by whom they were received graciouſly. They had no reaſon to repent their caution in ſtaying ſo long behind the King, for they found the Court ſo full of jealouſy and diſorder, that every body was glad that they were come. After the firſt two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were ſpent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happened ſince their laſt parting, the Queen begun to confer with the King of his buſineſs, and what courſe he meant to take; in which ſhe found him ſo reſerved, as if he had no mind ſhe ſhould be converſant in it. He made no apologies to her; which ſhe expected; nor any profeſſions of reſigning himſelf up to her advice. On the contrary, upon ſome expoſtulations, he had told her plainly, "that he would always perform his duty towards her "with great affection and exactneſs, but that in his "buſineſs he would obey his own reaſon and judg-"ment;" and did as good as deſire her not to trouble herſelf in his affairs: and finding her paſſions ſtrong, he frequently retired from her with ſome abruptneſs, and ſeemed not to deſire to be ſo much in her company as ſhe expected; and preſcribed ſome new rules to be obſerved in his own retirement, which he had not been accuſtomed to.

This kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this diſtance, which the King ſeemed to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wiſh; and that there was ſomebody elſe, who did her more diſſervice: info-

inſomuch as to the ladies who were about her, whereof ſome were very much his friends, ſhe ſeemed to wiſh, that the Chancellor were come. There was a gentleman, who was newly come from England, and who came to the Hague after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever ſince very cloſe about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bedchamber, one Mr. Thomas Elliot, a perſon ſpoken of before; whom the King's father had formerly ſent into France, at the ſame time that he reſolved the Prince ſhould go for the Weſt; and for no other reaſon, but that he ſhould not attend upon his ſon. And he had given order, "that if he ſhould return out of France, and come "into the Weſt, the Council ſhould not ſuffer him to "be about the Prince;" with whom he thought he had too much credit, and would uſe it ill; and he had never ſeen the Prince from the time he left Oxford till now. He was a bold man, and ſpoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and leſs for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not ſo great as he had a mind to, he looked upon them as none at all. This gentleman came to the King juſt as he left the Hague, and both as he was a new comer, and as one for whom his Majeſty had formerly much kindneſs, was very well received; and being one who would receive no injury from his modeſty, made the favour the King ſhewed him as bright, and to ſhine as much in the eyes of all men, as was poſſible. He was never from the perſon of the King, and always whiſpering in his ear, taking upon him to underſtand the ſenſe and opinion of all the loyal party in England: and when he had a mind that the King ſhould think well, or ill, of any man, he told him, "that he was much be-

Mr. Elliot comes to the King: his influence upon his Majeſty.

"loved

" loved by, or very odious to, all his party there." By theſe infuſions, he had prevailed with him to look with leſs grace upon the Earl of Briſtol, who came from Caen (where he had hitherto reſided) to kiſs his hands, than his own good nature would have inclined him to; and more to diſcountenance the Lord Digby, and to tell him plainly, " that he ſhould not ſerve him in the " place of Secretary of State;" in which he had ſerved his father, and from which men have ſeldom been removed upon the deſcent of the Crown; and not to admit either father or ſon to be of his Council; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, " it would " be the moſt unpopular thing he could do, and which " would loſe him more hearts in England than any " other thing, if he were thought to be governed by his " mother." And in a month's time that he had been about the King, he begun already to be looked upon as very like to become the favourite. He had uſed the Queen with wonderful neglect when ſhe ſpoke to him, and had got ſo much intereſt with the King, that he had procured a promiſe from his Majeſty to make Colonel Windham, whoſe daughter Mr. Elliot had married, Secretary of State; an honeſt gentleman, but extreme unequal to that province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his wife had been nurſe to the Prince, who was now King.

In theſe kind of humours and indiſpoſitions the ambaſſadors found the Court, when they came to St. Germain's. They had, during their ſtay at Paris, in their way to Court, conferred with the Earl of Briſtol, and his ſon the Lord Digby; who breathed out their griefs to them; and the Lord Digby was the more troubled to find that Mr. Elliot, who was a known and declared enemy of his, had gotten ſo much credit with the King,

as

as to be able to ſatisfy his own malice upon him, by the countenance of his Majeſty; in whom, he knew, the King his father deſired, that he ſhould of all men have the leaſt intereſt. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his duty to ſay ſomewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that ſhe expected he ſhould do ſo, and the King having told him at large all that had paſſed with his mother, and the ill humour ſhe was in, (all which his Majeſty related in a more exalted dialect than he had been accuſtomed to), and his Majeſty being very willing to underſtand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor aſked a private audience; which her Majeſty readily granted. And after ſhe had gently expoſtulated upon the old paſſages at Jerſey, ſhe concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her huſband had always repoſed in him, and thereupon renewed her own gracious profeſſions of good will towards him. Then ſhe complained, not without tears, of the King's unkindneſs towards her, and of his way of living with her, of ſome expreſſions he had uſed in diſcourſe in her own preſence, and of what he had ſaid in other places, and of the great credit Mr. Elliot had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majeſty, and laſtly of the incredible deſign of making Windham Secretary; "who, beſides his other "unfitneſs," ſhe ſaid, "would be ſure to join with the "other to leſſen the King's kindneſs to her all they "could." The Chancellor, after he had made all the profeſſions of duty to her Majeſty which became him, and ſaid what he really believed of the King's kindneſs and reſpect for her, aſked her, "whether ſhe would "give him leave to take notice of any thing ſhe had "ſaid to him, or, in general, that he found her Ma-

A private audience of the Chancellor with the Queen.

"jeſty

"jeſty unſatisfied with the King's unkindneſs?" The Queen replied, "that ſhe was well contented he ſhould "take notice of every thing ſhe had ſaid; and, above "all, of his purpoſe to make Windham Secretary:" of which the King had not made the leaſt mention, though he had taken notice to him of moſt other things the Queen had ſaid to him.

The Chancellor, ſhortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had paſſed from the Queen, in ſuch a method as might give him occaſion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and proteſted, "that he deſired "nothing more than to live very well with the Queen; "towards whom he would never fail in his duty, as far "as was conſiſtent with his honour, and the good of his "affairs; which, at preſent, it may be, required more "reſervation towards the Queen, and to have it believed "that he communicated leſs with her than he did, or "than he intended to do: that, if he did not ſeem to "be deſirous of her company, it was only when ſhe "grieved him by ſome importunities, in which he "could not ſatisfy her; and that her exception againſt "Elliot was very unjuſt; and that he knew well the "man to be very honeſt, and that he loved him well; "and that the prejudice the King his father had againſt "him was only by the malice of the Lord Digby, who "hated him without a cauſe, and had likewiſe informed "the Queen of ſome falſehoods, which had incenſed her "Majeſty againſt him;" and ſeemed throughout much concerned to juſtify Elliot, againſt whom the Chancellor himſelf had no exceptions, but received more reſpects from him than he paid to moſt other men.

When the Chancellor ſpoke of making Windham Secretary, the King did not own the having promiſed to

do

do it, but "that he intended to do it." The Chancellor ſaid, "he was glad he had not promiſed it; and that he "hoped, he would never do it: that he was an honeſt "gentleman, but in no degree qualified for that office." He put him in mind of Secretary Nicholas, who was then there to preſent his duty to him; "that he was a "perſon of ſuch known affection and honeſty, that he "could not do a more ungracious thing than to paſs "him by." The King ſaid, "he thought Secretary "Nicholas to be a very honeſt man; but he had no "title to that office more than another man: that Mr. "Windham had not any experience in that employ-"ment, but that it depended ſo much upon forms, that "he would quickly be inſtructed in it: that he was a "very honeſt man, for whom he had never done any "thing, and had now nothing elſe to give him but this "place; for which he doubted not but, in a ſhort "time, he would make himſelf very fit." All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majeſty was, to ſuſpend the doing it for ſome time, and that he would hear him again upon the ſubject, before he took a final reſolution. For the reſt, he promiſed "to ſpeak upon "ſome particulars with the Queen, and to live with her "with all kindneſs and freedom, that ſhe might be in "good humour." But he heard her, and all others, very unwillingly, who ſpoke againſt Mr. Windham's parts for being Secretary of State.

One day the Lord Cottington, when the Chancellor and ſome others were preſent, told the King very gravely, (according to his cuſtom, who never ſmiled when he made others merry,) "that he had an humble ſuit "to him, on the behalf of an old ſervant of his father's, "and whom, he aſſured him upon his knowledge, his "father loved as well as he did any man of that condi-

"tion

" tion in England; and that he had been for many " years one of his falconers; and he did really believe " him to be one of the beſt falconers in England;" and thereupon enlarged himſelf (as he could do very well in all the terms of that ſcience) to ſhew how very ſkilful he was in that art. The King aſked him, " what " he would have him do for him?" Cottington told him, " it was very true that his Majeſty kept no fal- " coners, and the poor man was grown old, and could not " ride as he had uſed to do; but that he was a very " honeſt man, and could read very well, and had as " audible a voice as any man need to have;" and therefore beſought his Majeſty, " that he would make him " his Chaplain;" which ſpeaking with ſo compoſed a countenance, and ſomewhat of earneſtneſs, the King looked upon him with a ſmile to know what he meant; when he, with the ſame gravity, aſſured him, " the " falconer was in all reſpects as fit to be his Chaplain, " as Colonel Windham was to be Secretary of State;" which ſo ſurpriſed the King, who had never ſpoken to him of the matter, all that were preſent being not able to abſtain from laughing, that his Majeſty was ſomewhat out of countenance: and this being merrily told by ſome of the ſtanders by, it grew to be a ſtory in all companies, and did really divert the King from the purpoſe, and made the other ſo much aſhamed of pretending to it, that there was no more diſcourſe of it.

Whilſt all endeavours were uſed to compoſe all ill humours here, that the King might proſecute his intended voyage for Ireland, there came very ill news from Ireland. As ſoon as the Marquis of Ormond was arrived, as hath been ſaid before, the confederate Catholics, who held their aſſembly, as they had always done, at Kilkenny, ſent commiſſioners to him to congratulate his

An account of the affairs in Ireland after the Marquis of Ormond's arrival there

his arrival, and to enter upon a treaty of peace, that they might all return to their obedience to the King. But the inconſtancy of that nation was ſuch, that, notwithſtanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themſelves by their falling from their former peace, and notwithſtanding that themſelves had ſent to Paris to importune the Queen and the Prince to ſend the Marquis of Ormond back to them, with all promiſes and proteſtations that they would not inſiſt upon any unreaſonable conceſſions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of religion, and inſiſted upon other things, which if he ſhould conſent to, would have irreconciled all the Engliſh, who were under the Lord Inchiquin, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: by this means ſo much time was ſpent, that the winter paſſed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanced againſt the Parliament forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of ſupplies, whilſt the diſtractions continued in England between the Parliament and the army, the diviſions in the army, and the proſecution of the King; during which the governors there had work enough to look to themſelves; and left Ireland to provide for itſelf: and if that unfortunate people would have made uſe of the advantages that were offered, that kingdom might indeed have been entirely reduced to the King's obedience.

That the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preſerve themſelves, he went himſelf to Kilkenny, where the Council ſate, about Chriſtmas, after three months had been ſpent from his arrival, that no more time might be loſt in their commiſſioners' coming and going, and that the ſpring might not be loſt as well as the winter. And at laſt a peace was made and con-

cluded; by which, againſt ſuch a day, the confederate Catholics obliged themſelves "to bring into the field a "body of horſe and foot, with all proviſions for the "field, which ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Lord "Lieutenant, and to march as he ſhould appoint." The treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole nation to the ſame agreement. And the General Aſſembly, to which they all pretended to ſubmit, and from which all had received their commiſſions, as hath been ſaid, ſent to Owen O'Neile, who remained in Ulſter with his army, and came not himſelf to Kilkenny, as he had promiſed to have done, upon pretence of his indiſpoſition of health. He profeſſed "to ſubmit to whatſoever the General "Aſſembly ſhould determine:" but when they ſent the articles, to which they had agreed, to be ſigned by him, he took ſeveral exceptions, eſpecially in matters of religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and, in the end, poſitively declared, "that he would not "ſubmit, or be bound by them:" and at the ſame time he ſent to the Marquis of Ormond, "that he "would treat with him apart, and not concern himſelf "in what the Aſſembly reſolved upon."

The truth is, there was nothing of religion in this contention; which proceeded from the animoſity between the two generals, O'Neile and Preſton, and the bitter faction between the old Iriſh and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the Engliſh were; and laſtly, from the ambition of Owen O'Neile; who expected ſome conceſſions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incenſed the other party, if they had been granted to him: ſo that the Aſſembly was well pleaſed to leave him out, and concluded the peace without him.

Hereupon

Hereupon the Lord Lieutenant uſed all poſſible endeavours that the army might be formed, and ready to march in the beginning of the ſpring. And though there was not an appearance anſwerable to their promiſe, yet their troops ſeemed ſo good, and were ſo numerous, that he thought fit to march towards Dublin; and, in the way, to take all caſtles and garriſons, which were poſſeſſed by the Parliament: in which they had very good ſucceſs. For many of the Parliament ſoldiers having ſerved the King, they took the firſt opportunity, upon the Marquis of Ormond's approach within any diſtance, to come to him; and by that means ſeveral places ſurrendered likewiſe to him. Colonel Monk, who had formerly ſerved the King, and remained for the ſpace of three or four years priſoner in the Tower, had been at laſt prevailed with by the Lord Liſle to ſerve the Parliament againſt the Iriſh; pleaſing himſelf with an opinion that he did not therein ſerve againſt the King. He was at this time Governor of Dundalk, a garriſon about thirty miles from Dublin; which was no ſooner ſummoned (Tredagh and thoſe at a nearer diſtance being taken) but he was compelled by his own ſoldiers to deliver it up; and if the officer, who commanded the party which ſummoned him, had not been his friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's ſervice, his ſoldiers would have thrown him over the walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and moſt of that garriſon betook themſelves to the King's ſervice.

Upon all theſe encouragements, before the troops were come up to make the army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was perſuaded to block up Dublin at a very little diſtance; having good reaſon to hope, from the ſmallneſs of the garriſon, and a party The Marquis of Ormond blocks up Dublin.

of well affected people within the town, that it would in a ſhort time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he uſed all the means he could to haſten the Iriſh troops, ſome whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raiſed, to come up to the army. By all their letters from London (with which, by the way of Dublin, and the ports of Munſter, there was good intelligence) they underſtood, that there were fifteen hundred or two thouſand men ſhipped for Ireland: and the wind having been for ſome time againſt their coming for Dublin, there was an apprehenſion that they might be gone for Munſter: whereupon the Lord Inchiquin, who was not confident of all his garriſons there, very unhappily departed with ſome troops of horſe to look after his province; there being then no cauſe to apprehend any ſally out of Dublin, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the wind coming fair, the ſhips expected came into the port of Dublin; and landed a greater number of ſoldiers, eſpecially of horſe, than was reported; and brought the news that Cromwell himſelf was made Lieutenant of Ireland, and intended to be ſhortly there with a very great ſupply of horſe and foot. This fleet that was already come had brought arms, and clothes, and money, and victuals; which much exalted the garriſon and the city; which preſently turned out of the town ſome of thoſe who were ſuſpected to wiſh well to the Marquis of Ormond, and impriſoned others. The ſecond day after the arrival of the ſuccours, Jones, who had been a lawyer, and was then Governor of Dublin, at noon-day marched out of the city, with a body of three thouſand foot, and three or four troops of horſe, and fell upon that quarter which was next the town; where they found ſo little reſiſtance

The Lord Inchiquin departs from him for Munſter.

Recruits land at Dublin from England.

Jones ſallies out of Dublin, and beats the Marquis of Ormond's army.

ſiſtance that they adventured upon the next; and in ſhort ſo diſordered the whole army, one half whereof was on the other ſide the river, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of ſome officers whom he drew together, charged the enemy with the loſs of many of thoſe who followed him, was at laſt compelled to draw off the whole army, which was ſo diſcomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their poſts, till both the troops which he had were refreſhed, and compoſed, and their numbers increaſed by the levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardneſs.

It may be remembered, that the general inſurrections in the laſt year, the revolt of the navy, and the invaſion of the Scots, encouraged and drawn in by the Preſbyterian party, had ſo diſturbed and obſtructed the counſels both in the Parliament, and in the army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of Ireland, except the ſending over the Lord Liſle as Lieutenant, with a commiſſion that was determined at the end of ſo many months, and which had given ſo little relief to the Engliſh, that it only diſcovered more their weakneſs, and animoſity towards each other, than obſtructed the Iriſh in making their progreſs in all the parts of the kingdom; and the more confirmed the Lord Inchiquin to purſue his reſolutions of ſerving the King, and of receiving the Marquis of Ormond, how meanly ſoever attended, and to unite with the Iriſh; the perfecting of which conjunction, with ſo general a ſucceſs, brought ſo great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loſs of Ireland, that the noiſe thereof was very great: ſo that Cromwell thought it high time, in his own perſon, to appear upon a ſtage of ſo great action. There had been always men enough

Cromwell made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

to be ſpared out of the army to have been ſent upon that expedition, when the other difficulties were at higheſt; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power ſhould be ſuperior, the Preſbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had ſet up and deſigned Waller for that command, and Cromwell, againſt him and that party, had inſiſted, that it ſhould be given to Lambert, the ſecond man of the army, who was known to have as great a deteſtation of the Preſbyterian power, as he had of the prerogative of the Crown: and the conteſts between the two factions, which of theſe ſhould be ſent, had ſpent a great part of the laſt year, and of their winter counſels. But now, when all the domeſtic differences were compoſed by their ſucceſſes in the field, and the bloody proſecution of their civil counſels, ſo that there could be little done to the diſturbance of the peace of England, and when Waller's friends were ſo ſuppreſſed, that he was no more thought of, Cromwell began to think that the committing the whole government of Ireland, with ſuch an army as was neceſſary to be ſent thither, was too great a truſt even for his beloved Lambert himſelf, and was to leſſen his own power and authority, both in the army which was commanded by Fairfax, and in the other, that, being in Ireland, would, upon any occaſion, have great influence upon the affairs of England. And therefore, whilſt there appeared no other obſtructions in the relief of Ireland (which was every day loudly called for) than the determining who ſhould take that charge, ſome of his friends, who were always ready upon ſuch occaſions, on a ſudden propoſed Cromwell himſelf the Lieutenant General, to conduct that expedition.

Cromwell himſelf was always abſent when ſuch overtures

tures were to be made; and whoever had propoſed Lambert, had propoſed it as a thing moſt agreeable to Cromwell's deſire; and therefore, when they heard Cromwell himſelf propoſed for the ſervice, and by thoſe who they were ſure intended him no affront, they immediately acquieſced in the propoſition, and looked upon the change as a good expedient: on the other ſide, the Preſbyterian party was no leſs affected, and concluded that this was only a trick to defer the ſervice, and that he never did intend to go thither in perſon; or that if he did, his abſence from England would give them all the advantages they could wiſh, and that they ſhould then recover entirely their General Fairfax to their party; who was already much broken in ſpirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declared ſome bitterneſs againſt the perſons who had led him to it. And ſo in a moment both parties were agreed, and Oliver Cromwell elected and declared to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with as ample and independent a commiſſion, as could be prepared.

Cromwell, how little ſurpriſed ſoever with this deſignation, appeared the next day in the Houſe full of confuſion and irreſolution; which the natural temper and compoſure of his underſtanding could hardly avoid, when he leaſt deſired it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpoſe, he could act it to the life. And after much heſitation, and many expreſſions of "his "own unworthineſs, and diſability to ſupport ſo great a "charge, and of the entire reſignation of himſelf to "their commands, and abſolute dependence upon God's "providence and bleſſing, from whom he had received "many inſtances of his favour," he ſubmitted to their good will and pleaſure; and deſired them, "that no "more time might be loſt in the preparations which

" were to be made for ſo great a work; for he did con-
" feſs that kingdom to be reduced to ſo great ſtraits,
" that he was willing to engage his own perſon in this
" expedition, for the difficulties which appeared in it;
" and more out of hope, with the hazard of his life, to
" give ſome obſtruction to the ſucceſſes which the re-
" bels were at preſent exalted with," (for ſo he called the Marquis of Ormond, and all who joined with him), " that ſo the commonwealth might retain ſtill ſome " footing in that kingdom, till they might be able to " ſend freſh ſupplies, than out of any expectation, that, " with the ſtrength he carried, he ſhould be able, in any " ſignal degree, to prevail over them."

He provides forces for his going thither.

It was an incredible expedition that he uſed from this minute after his aſſuming that charge, in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing of forces together, for this enterpriſe. Before he could be ready himſelf to march, he ſent three thouſand foot and horſe to Milford Haven, to be tranſported, as ſoon as they arrived there, to Dublin; all things being ready there for their tranſportation; which troops, by the contrary winds, were conſtrained to remain there for many days. And that cauſed the report in Ireland, by the intelligence from London, that Cromwell intended to make a deſcent in Munſter; which unhappily divided the Lord Inchiquin, and a good body of his men, from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been ſaid, when he marched towards Dublin. Nor did the Marquis of Ormond in truth at that time intend to have marched thither with that expedition, until his army ſhould be grown more numerous, and more accuſtomed to diſcipline, but the wonderful ſucceſſes of thoſe troops, which were ſent before, in the taking of Trim, Dundalk, and all the out-garriſons, and the invitation and intelligence

gence he had from within Dublin, made him unwilling to loſe any more time, ſince he was ſure that the croſſineſs of the wind only hindered the arrival of thoſe ſupplies, which were deſigned thither out of England: and the arrival of thoſe ſupplies, the very day before his coming before Dublin, enabled the Governor thereof to make that ſally which is mentioned before; and had that ſucceſs which is mentioned.

The Marquis of Ormond, at that time, drew off his whole army from Dublin to Tredagh, where he meant to remain till he could put it into ſuch a poſture, that he might proſecute his farther deſign. And a full account of all theſe particulars met Cromwell at his arrival at Milford Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loſs of Dublin, and was in great perplexity to reſolve what he was then to do. But all thoſe clouds being diſperſed, upon the news of the great ſucceſs his party had that he had ſent before, he deferred not to embark his whole army, and, with a very proſperous wind, arrived at Dublin within two or three days after the Marquis of Ormond had retired from thence; where he was received with wonderful acclamation; which did not retard him from purſuing his active reſolutions, to improve thoſe advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of Ormond was no ſooner advertiſed of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former reſolution, and to draw his army to a greater diſtance, till thoſe parties which were marching towards him from the ſeveral quarters of the kingdom might come up to him; and in the mean while to put Tredagh into ſo good a poſture, as might entertain the enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And ſo he put into that place, which was looked upon, beſides the ſtrength of the ſituation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower

Cromwell arrives at Dublin.

of

of his army, both of ſoldiers and officers, moſt of them Engliſh, to the number of three thouſand foot, and two or three good troops of horſe, provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sir Arthur Aſton, who hath been often mentioned before, and was an officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it againſt all the power of Cromwell, for at leaſt a month's time. And the Marquis of Ormond made leſs doubt, in much leſs time, to relieve and ſuccour it with his army; and ſo retired to thoſe parts where he had appointed a rendezvous for his new levies.

This news delays the King's voyage into Ireland.

This news coming to St. Germain's broke all their meaſures, at leaſt as to the expedition: the reſolution continued for Ireland; but it was thought fit that they ſhould expect another account from thence, before the King begun his journey; nor did it ſeem counſellable that his Majeſty ſhould venture to ſea whilſt the Parliament fleet commanded the ocean, and were then about the coaſt of Ireland; but that he ſhould expect the autumn, when the ſeaſon of the year would call home or diſperſe the ſhips. But where to ſtay ſo long was the queſtion; for it was now the month of Auguſt; and as the King had received no kind of civility from France, ſince his laſt coming, ſo it was notorious enough that his abſence was impatiently deſired by that Court; and the Queen, who found herſelf diſappointed of that dominion which ſhe had expected, reſolved to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a gueſt that was ſo unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and ſo was not at all ſolicitous for his longer ſtay. So his Majeſty conſidered how he ſhould make his departure; and, upon looking round, he reſolved, that he would make his journey through Normandy, and

and embark himſelf for his iſland of Jerſey; which ſtill continued under his obedience, and under the government of Sir George Carteret; who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the lieutenant of the Lord Jermyn; who, in thoſe ſtraits the King was in, and the great plenty he himſelf enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would leſſen ſome of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's ſupport, whilſt he ſhould ſtay there, neceſſary to ſell ſome of the King's demeſnes in that iſland, the yearly rent whereof uſed to be received by that lord towards the diſcharge of the garriſons there, he inſiſted, with all poſſible importunity, "that ſome of the money, which "ſhould be raiſed upon that ſale, ſhould be paid to "him, becauſe his receipt, for the time to come, would "not remain ſo great as it had been formerly:" and though this demand appeared ſo unjuſt and unreaſonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him ſuch a note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good ſum of money, after the return of his Majeſty into England, upon that conſideration. This reſolution being taken for Jerſey, the King ſent to the Prince of Orange, "that "he would cauſe two ſhips of war to ride in the road "before St. Maloes," (which they might do without notice), "and that he might have a warrant remain in "his hands, by which the ſhips might attend his Ma-"jeſty, when he ſhould require them;" which they might do in very few hours; and in theſe he meant to tranſport himſelf, as ſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable, into Ireland. Theſe ſhips did wait his pleaſure there accordingly.

France had too good an excuſe at this time for not giving

The affairs of France whilſt the King was at Paris.

giving the King any aſſiſtance in money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own affairs were in. Though the ſedition, which had been raiſed in Paris the laſt winter, was at preſent ſo much appeaſed by the courage and conduct of the Prince of Condé, (who brought the army, which he commanded in Flanders, with ſo great expedition before Paris, that the city yielded to reaſon), ſo that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Queen his mother, and the whole Court, were at this preſent there; yet the wound was far from being cloſed up. The town continued ſtill in ill humour; more of the great men adhered to them than had done before; the animoſities againſt the Cardinal increaſed, and, which made thoſe animoſities the more terrible, the Prince of Condé, who ſurely had merited very much, either unſatisfied, or not to be ſatisfied, broke his friendſhip with the Cardinal, and ſpoke with much bitterneſs againſt him: ſo that the Court was far from being in that tranquillity, as to concern itſelf much for the King our maſter, if it had been otherwiſe well inclined to it.

The King leaves St. Germain's, and goes towards Jerſey.

All things ſtanding thus, about the middle of September, the King left St. Germain's, and begun his journey towards Jerſey; and the Queen, the next day, removed from thence to Paris to the Louvre. The two ambaſſadors for Spain waited upon her Majeſty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themſelves for their journey to Spain, where they longed to be, and whither they had ſent for a paſs to meet them at St. Sebaſtian's, and that they might have a houſe provided for them at Madrid, againſt the time they ſhould come thither: both which they recommended to an Engliſh gentleman, who lived there, to ſolicit, and advertiſe them in their journey of the temper of that Court.

They

They thought it convenient, ſince they were to deſire a paſs to go from Paris into Spain, that they ſhould wait upon the Queen Mother of France, and the Cardinal; and likewiſe upon the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Condé; who were then in a cabal againſt the Court. The Prince of Condé ſpoke ſo publicly and ſo warmly againſt the Cardinal, that moſt people thought the Cardinal undone; and he himſelf apprehended ſome attempt upon his perſon; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his houſe, and admitted few to come to him, and had a ſtrong guard in every room; ſo that his fear was not diſſembled.

In this ſo general diſorder, the ambaſſadors declined any formal audiences; for which their equipage was not ſuitable: ſo the Lord Cottington went privately to the Queen Regent, who received him graciouſly, and deſired him "to recommend her very kindly to her "brother the King of Spain," without enlarging upon any thing elſe. From her he went to the Duke of Orleans, whom he found in more diſorder; and when the ambaſſador told him, "he came to know whether "he had any ſervice to command him into Spain," the Duke, who ſcarce ſtood ſtill whilſt he was ſpeaking, anſwered aloud, "that he had nothing to do with Spain;" and ſo went haſtily into another room; and the Lord Cottington then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of Condé, and to the Cardinal. But when they ſent to the Prince, he wiſely, but with great civility, ſent them word, "that they "could not be ignorant of the diſorder that Court was "in, and of the jealouſies which were of him;" and therefore deſired them "to excuſe him, that he did not "ſee them."

The Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they

they met, and conferred together about half an hour, the Lord Cottington ſpeaking Spaniſh, and the Cardinal and he conferring wholly in that language. The Cardinal acknowledged the apprehenſion he was in, in his looks; and took occaſion in his diſcourſe to mention "the unjuſt diſpleaſure, which Monſieur le Prince had "conceived againſt him." He ſeemed earneſtly to deſire a peace between the two Crowns; and ſaid, "that "he would give a pound of his blood to obtain it;" and deſired the ambaſſadors "to tell Don Lewis de Haro "from him, that he would with all his heart meet him "upon the frontiers; and that he was confident, if "they two were together but three hours, they ſhould "compoſe all differences:" which meſſage he afterwards diſavowed, when Don Lewis accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the ſtairs in diſorder enough, his guards being very circumſpect, and ſuffering no ſtranger to approach any of the rooms.

The Lord Cottington and the Chancellor begin their journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux.

They begun their journey from Paris upon Michaelmas day, and continued it without reſting one day, till they came to Bourdeaux; which was then in rebellion againſt the King. The city and the Parliament had not only ſent ſeveral complaints and bitter invectives againſt the Duke of Eſpernon, their governor, for his acts of tyranny in his government, but had preſumed, in order to make his perſon the more ungracious, to aſperſe his life and manners with thoſe reproaches which they believed would moſt reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greateſt quarrel againſt him was, that he was a faſt friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his intereſt. They had driven the Duke out of the town, and did not only deſire the King, "that he "might no more be their governor; but that his Ma-

"jeſty

"jeſty would give the government to the Prince of "Condé;" which made their complaints the leſs conſidered as juſt. And it was then one of the moſt avowed exceptions that Prince had againſt the Cardinal, that he had not that government upon the petition of Bourdeaux, ſince he offered to reſign his of Burgundy, which was held to be of as much value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of Eſpernon. At Blay, the ambaſſadors were viſited by the Marſhal of Pleſſy Praſlin, who had been ſent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of Bourdeaux, but could bring them to no reaſon, they poſitively inſiſting upon the remove of their old governor, and conferring the command upon the Prince. When they came to Bourdeaux they found the Chateau Trompette, which ſtill held for the King, ſhooting at the town, the town having inveſted it very cloſe, that no ſuccour could be put into them, the Duke of Eſpernon being at his houſe at Cadilliac, from whence his horſe every day infeſted the citizens when they ſtirred out of the town. Here the ambaſſadors were compelled to ſtay one whole day, the diſorders upon the river, and in the town, not ſuffering their coaches and baggage to follow them ſo ſoon as they ſhould have done. They were here viſited by ſome counſellors and preſidents of the Parliament; who profeſſed duty to their King, but irreconcileable hatred to the Duke of Eſpernon; againſt whom they had publiſhed ſeveral remonſtrances in print, and dedicated them to the Prince of Condé. After a day's reſt there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continued their journey to Bayonne; and arrived, upon the twentieth day from their leaving Paris, at the Taio; where they took boat, and in an hour or two arrived at Girona. The next day they went by the river to Paſſage, and when they came out of their boats,

boats, which were rowed by women, according to their privilege there, they found mules, ſent from St. Sebaſtian's to carry them thither. About half a mile from the town they were met by the Governor of Guipuſcoa, Don Antonio de Cardinas, an old ſoldier, and a Knight of the Order, the Corregidor and all the magiſtrates of St. Sebaſtian's, and the Engliſh merchants which inhabited there; and were conducted by the Governor to one of the beſt houſes in the town, which was provided for their reception; where they no ſooner were, than the Governor, and the reſt of the magiſtrates, took their leave of them.

They had not been half an hour in their lodging, conferring with the Engliſh merchants, about conveniences to proſecute their journey, when the Corregidor came to them, and deſired to ſpeak with them in private, and after ſome compliment and apology, he ſhewed them a letter, which he had received from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, "that when the "ambaſſadors of the Prince of Wales ſhould arrive "there, they ſhould be received with all reſpect; but "that he ſhould find ſome means to perſuade them to "ſtay and remain there, till he ſhould give the King "notice of it, and receive his farther pleaſure." And at the ſame time an Engliſh merchant of the town, who had told them before, that he had letters from Madrid for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a packet from Sir Benjamin Wright: who was entruſted by them to ſolicit at Madrid for their paſs, and for a houſe to be prepared for them. In this letter their paſs was incloſed, under the ſame ſtyle, as ambaſſadors from the Prince of Wales; which he had obſerved upon the place, and deſired to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any order for the providing

viding a houſe for them; but was told, "that it ſhould "be done time enough." This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they ſeemed not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to ſtay there a month, to refreſh themſelves after their long journey, and in expectation of other letters from the King their maſter. The Corregidor offered to ſend away an expreſs the ſame night, which they accepted of; and writ to Don Lewis de Haro, "that the King their maſter had ſent "them his ambaſſadors to his Catholic Majeſty, upon "affairs of the higheſt importance: that they were come "ſo far on their way, but had, to their great wonder, met "there with a ſignification of that King's pleaſure, that "they ſhould ſtay and remain there, till they ſhould re-"ceive his Majeſty's farther orders; which troubled "them not ſo much, as to find themſelves ſtyled the "ambaſſadors of the Prince of Wales, which they "thought very ſtrange, after his Catholic Majeſty had "ſent an ambaſſador to the King their maſter before "they left him: they deſired therefore to know, whe-"ther their perſons were unacceptable to his Catholic "Majeſty, and if that were the caſe, they would imme-"diately return to their maſter; otherwiſe, if his Ma-"jeſty were content to receive them, they deſired they "might be treated in that manner as was due to the "honour and dignity of the King their maſter." And they writ to Sir Benjamin Wright, "to attend Don "Lewis, and if he found that they were expected at "Madrid, and that they reformed the errors they had "committed, he ſhould then uſe thoſe importunities, "which were neceſſary for the providing a houſe for "them againſt they ſhould come."

Though the Court was then full of buſineſs, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed,

and at that time within few days journey of Madrid; yet the very next day after the letter was delivered to Don Lewis de Haro, he returned an anſwer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed to the negligence or ignorance of the Secretary; and ſent them new paſſes in the proper ſtyle; and aſſured them, "that they ſhould "find a very good welcome from his Majeſty." And Sir Benjamin Wright ſent them word, "that he had re- "ceived the warrant for the providing the houſe; and "the officer, to whom it was directed, had called "upon him to view two or three houſes; and that "Don Lewis told him, that, as ſoon as he had found a "houſe that pleaſed him, orders ſhould be given to the "King's officers of the wardrobe to furniſh it; and then "when the ambaſſadors came, there ſhould be one of "the King's coaches to attend them whilſt they ſtayed." Hereupon they made haſte in their journey, with ſome ſatisfaction and confidence that they ſhould find a Court not ſo hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with ſo barefaced and formed an affront, and then ſo eaſily recede from it with weak apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wiſhed that they had not come; and imagined that this might put them to return again, and then were aſhamed of their own expedient, and being preſſed, choſe rather to decline than avow it: ſo unnatural a thing is it for that Court to ſtoop to any ugly action, without doing it ſo ungraciouſly, as to confeſs it in their own countenance, and quickly receding from it.

Their paſſes are ſent to them.

It was about the middle of November when they left St. Sebaſtian's, the weather yet continuing fair; and a gentleman of quality of the country was appointed to accompany them out of the juriſdiction of Guipuſcoa, which was to the city of Victoria; and from thence they

they entered into Caſtile. When they came to Alcavendas, within three leagues of Madrid, they ſent to Sir Benjamin Wright to know what houſe was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, "all things were in the ſame ſtate they were when he "writ to them to St. Sebaſtian's: that though Don "Lewis gave him very good words, and ſeemed much "troubled and angry with the officers that the houſe "was not ready, and the officers excuſed themſelves "upon the jollities the town was in during the *feſtas*, "which were held every day for the Queen's arrival, "that nobody could attend any particular affair, yet it "was evident there was not that care taken from the "Court that there ought to have been, and that Don "Alonzo de Cardinas from England had done the am-"baſſadors all the ill offices poſſible, as if their good "reception in Spain would incenſe the Parliament, "and make them more propitious to France, which "valued itſelf upon having driven all the royal family "from thence."

Upon this new mortification, they writ again from thence to Don Lewis, to deſire, "that they might not "be put to ſtay there for want of a houſe, and ſo be "expoſed to contempt." Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always anſwered their letters with great punctuality, and with courteſy enough, as if all things ſhould be ready by the next day. The Engliſh merchants, who reſided at Madrid, came every day to viſit them, but ſtill brought them word, that there was no appearance of any proviſion made to receive them; ſo that, after a week's ſtay in that little town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation which Sir Benjamin Wright made them, of repoſing themſelves *incognito* in his houſe;

which would only receive their perſons with a valet de chambre for each; and the reſt of their family was quartered in the next adjacent houſes for the reception of ſtrangers; ſo they went privately in the evening into Madrid in Sir Benjamin Wright's coach, and came to his houſe: and if, by his generoſity, they had not been thus accommodated, they muſt have been expoſed to reproach and infamy, by the very little reſpect they received from the Court. This Sir Benjamin Wright was a gentleman of a good family in Eſſex; and, being a younger brother, had been bred a merchant in Madrid; where he had great buſineſs, and great reputation; and, having married a wife of the family of Toledo, was become a perfect Spaniard, not only in the language, but in the generous part of their nature and cuſtoms.

They go into Madrid *incognito*, and lodge at firſt at Sir Benjamin Wright's houſe.

The Court well enough knew of their arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord Cottington therefore ſent to Don Lewis, to deſire that he might have a private audience of him *incognito*; which he preſently conſented to, and appointed, the next morning, to meet in the King's garden; which was at ſuch a diſtance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: Don Lewis was a man of little ceremony, and uſed no flouriſhes in his diſcourſes, which made moſt men believe that he ſaid all things from his heart; and he ſeemed to ſpeak ſo cordially, that the Lord Cottington, who was not eaſy to be impoſed upon, did think that they ſhould have a houſe very ſpeedily, and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He ſpoke, with more commotion than was natural to him, in the buſineſs of the murder of the King; excuſed all the omiſſions towards the ambaſſadors; "which ſhould be repaired out of hand, after the "few days, which yet remained to be ſpent in *feſtas* for "the

"the Queen; during which time, he ſaid, no officers "would obey any orders that diverted them from the "ſight of the triumphs; and wiſhed that the ambaſſa-"dors would ſee the maſquerade that afternoon, and the "*toros* the day following."

The Lord Cottington returned home very well ſatiſfied; and had not been half an hour in the houſe, when a gentleman came from Don Lewis to invite the ambaſſadors to ſee thoſe exerciſes, which were mentioned before; and ſent them word that there ſhould be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that afternoon to the place aſſigned, where he ſaw the maſquerade, and the running of the courſe, and, afterwards, the *toros*.

At the running of the courſe, the King and Don Lewis run ſeveral courſes, in all which Don Lewis was too good a courtier to win any prize, though he always loſt it by very little. The appearance of the people was very great, and the ladies in all the windows made a very rich ſhew, otherwiſe the ſhew itſelf had nothing wonderful. Here there happened to be ſome ſudden ſharp words between the Admirante of Caſtile, a haughty young man, and the Marquis de Liche, the eldeſt ſon of Don Lewis de Haro; the which being taken notice of, they were both diſmiſſed the ſquadrons wherein they were, and committed to their chambers.

At the entertainment of the *toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to ſhew the diſcipline and ſeverity of that nation in the obſervation of order. It was remembered, that at the maſquerade, the Admirante and the Marquis of Liche were ſent to their chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examined, they were both commanded to leave the town, and retire each to a houſe of his own, that was within

three or four leagues of the town. The Marquis of Liche was known to have gone the next day, and nobody doubted the ſame of the Admirante, thoſe orders being never diſputed or diſobeyed. The King, as he was going to the *toros*, either himſelf diſcerned at another balcony, or ſomebody elſe advertiſed him of it, that the Ducheſs, who was wife to the Admirante, was there; and ſaid, "he knew that lady was a woman of more "honour than to come out of her houſe, and be preſent "at the *fieſta*, whilſt her huſband was under reſtraint, "and in his Majeſty's diſpleaſure;" and therefore concluded that her huſband was likewiſe there; and thereupon ſent an Alguazil to that room, with command to examine carefully with his eye, whether the Admirante was there; for there appeared none but women. The Admirante being a young raſh man, much in the King's favour, and a gentleman of his Bedchamber, thought he might undiſcerned ſee the triumph of that day; and therefore cauſed himſelf to be dreſſed in the habit of a lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his wife to go with him; who exceedingly refiſted his commands, well knowing to what reproach ſhe expoſed her own honour, though ſhe had no fear of his being diſcovered. The Alguazil brought the King word, that he was very ſure that the Admirante was there, in the habit of a woman, and ſat next his wife among many other ladies. Whereupon the King ſent the officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the officer's own houſe. And as ſoon as the King returned to the palace, there was an order that the Alguazil ſhould the next morning carry the Admirante to Valladolid, four days journey from Madrid, to a houſe of his own there; where he was confined not to go out of the limits of that city; and under this reſtraint remained for the ſpace of full

full three years: so penal a thing it is amongst that people, for any man, of how great quality soever, (there was not in Spain a man of greater than the Admirante of Castile), to disobey or elude the judgment of the King.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurred in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humour of that people, which may seem foreign to the affairs of England. But since the King, after his leaving Paris, remained in Jersey for many months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no action or counsel to be mentioned, and this being the first and the only embassy, in which his Majesty's person was represented, until his blessed return into England, (for though some other persons were afterwards sent to other princes, with commissions to perform that function, if they found encouragement so to do, yet none assumed that character, nor were treated as such in any Court in Christendom, Spain only excepted), it may therefore be reasonably thought not improper in this history, to give such a relation of this negociation, that it may appear what sense so great a Court as that of Spain had of those revolutions in England, and of the deplorable condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully pressed to them in the most efficacious terms possible; and every circumstance of their reception and treatment may serve to illustrate those particulars; and therefore we shall proceed farther in the relation of them.

The King remains several months in Jersey.

Before their audience, Don Lewis de Haro sent them

An account of the ambaſſadors' audience.

word of the impriſonment of the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville, and that Marſhal Turenne had made his eſcape into Flanders; the news whereof gave the Spaniſh Court much trouble; for they had promiſed themſelves a better harveſt from that ſeed, which they had carefully and induſtriouſly ſown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally ſuppreſſed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a peace, which was not leſs deſired in France than in Spain; or that thoſe princes, and all their dependents, would have appeared in arms in that kingdom; by which the Spaniards ſhould be able to recover much of what they had loſt in Flanders; the hopes of either of which appeared now blaſted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

Upon the day aſſigned for the audience, it being reſolved that, when they had ended with the King, they ſhould likewiſe have one of the Queen, Don Lewis de Haro ſent horſes to their lodging, for the accommodation of the ambaſſadors, and their ſervants: it being the faſhion of that Court, that the ambaſſadors ride to their firſt audience. And ſo they rode, being attended by all their own ſervants, and all the Engliſh merchants who lived in the town, together with many Iriſh officers who were in the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty, all on horſeback; ſo that their cavalcade appeared very fair, all the coaches of other ambaſſadors likewiſe following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the clock in the morning, being conducted by an officer, who had been ſent to their lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

Through ſeveral rooms, where there was only one officer, who attended to open and ſhut the doors, they came

came to the room next that where his Majeſty was; where, after a little ſtay, whilſt their conductor went in and out, they found the King ſtanding upright, with his back againſt the wall, and the grandees at a diſtance, in the ſame poſture, againſt the wall. When they had made their ſeveral reſpects, and came to the King, he lightly moved his hat, and bid them cover. The Lord Cottington ſpoke only general things, "of the confidence "the King had in his Majeſty's kindneſs, and that he "believed his condition ſuch, as that all the kings of "the world were concerned to vindicate the wrong he "ſuſtained: that this was the firſt embaſſy he had ſent, "relying more upon the honour of his Majeſty's nature "and generoſity, than upon any other prince;" with diſcourſes of the ſame nature: then they preſented their credentials.

The King expreſſed a very tender ſenſe of our King's condition, and acknowledged "that it concerned all "kings to join together for the puniſhment of ſuch an "impious rebellion and parricide; and if his own affairs "would permit it, he would be the firſt that would "undertake it; but that they could not but know how "full his hands were; and whilſt he had ſo powerful an "adverſary to contend with, he could hardly defend "himſelf; but that when there ſhould be a peace with "France," (which he deſired), "the King, his Sobrino," (for ſo he ſtill called the King, his nephew), "ſhould "find all he could expect from him; in the mean time "he would be ready to do all that was in his power to-"wards his aſſiſtance and relief." After the formal part was over, the King aſked many queſtions, moſt with reference to his ſiſter, the Queen of France; and diſcourſed very intelligently of every thing; ſo that his defects proceeded only from the lazineſs of his mind,

not

not from any want of underſtanding; and he ſeemed then, when he was about eight and forty years of age, to have great vigour of body, having a clear ruddy complexion; yet he had been accuſtomed to fevers from his debauches with women, by which he was much waſted.

From the King they were conducted to the Queen; who uſed very few words, and ſpoke ſo low, that ſhe could ſcarce be heard; ſhe ſtood, in the ſame manner the King did, againſt a wall, and her ladies on both ſides as the grandees did; the Infanta at a little diſtance from her, to whom likewiſe they made a compliment from their maſter. The Queen was then about eighteen years of age, not tall, round faced, and inclined to be fat. The Infanta was much lower, as ſhe ought to be by her age, but of a very lovely complexion, without any help of art, which every one elſe in the room, even the Queen herſelf, was beholden to; and ſhe was then the fulleſt of ſpirit and wit of any lady in Spain, which ſhe had not improved afterwards, when ſhe had more years upon her. Their audience ended, they returned; and at laſt they had a houſe provided for them in the Calle de Alcala, belonging to the Marquis of Villa Magna, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds ſterling by the year.

They have an houſe aſſigned them.

The Council of State at this time conſiſted of Don Lewis de Haro, the Duke de Medina de los Torres, Duke de Mounterey, Marquis of Caſtille Roderigo, Marquis de Vall-Periſo, the Conde of Caſtrilio, and Don Franciſco de Melo; there were no more reſiding in that Court then; the Duke de Medina Celi reſiding conſtantly at his government of St. Lucar; the Marquis of Leganez being General againſt Portugal, and ſo remaining at Badajoz, and coming ſeldom to Madrid; and the Duke

Duke of Arcos ſtood confined to his houſe, ſince the defection of Naples when it was under his government; and the Conde de Pignoranda was not yet come out of Flanders.

Don Lewis was as abſolute a favourite in the eyes of his maſter, had as entire a diſpoſal of all his affections and faculties, as any favourite of that age: nor was any thing tranſacted at home or abroad, but by his direction and determination: and yet of all the favourites of that, or any other time, no man ever did ſo little alone, or ſeemed leſs to enjoy the delight and empire of a favourite. In the moſt ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little deliberation, and in the nature of them required expedition, he would give no order without formal conſultation with the reſt of the Council; which hindered diſpatch, and made his parts the more ſuſpected. He was ſon of the Marquis of Carpio, who had married the ſiſter of Olivarez, and had been put about the perſon of the King, being about the ſame age with his Majeſty, and had ſo grown up in his affection, and was not thought to have been diſpleaſed at the diſgrace of his uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not ſucceed in the place of favourite in many years, nor ſeemed to be concerned in any buſineſs till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's affection, who had a great kindneſs for his perſon, than by the ambition of his own nature, or any delight in buſineſs. His education had not fitted him for it, and his natural parts were not ſharp, yet his induſtry was great, and the more commendable, becauſe his nature had ſome repugnancy to it, and his experience had ſo fitted him for it, that he never ſpoke impertinently, but diſcourſed reaſonably and weightily upon all ſubjects. The character of Don Lewis de Haro.

He

He was of a melancholic complexion; which, it may be, was the reaſon that he did not truſt himſelf to himſelf, which was his defect. He ſeemed to be a very honeſt and well natured man, and did very rarely manifeſt his power in acts of oppreſſion, or hard-heartedneſs; which made him grateful to moſt particular men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His port and grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the French Cardinals; the laſt of which was favourite during his adminiſtration. Nor did he affect wealth as they did, not leaving a fortune behind him much improved by his own induſtry: yet it cannot be denied, that the affairs of Spain declined more, in the time they were under his government, than at any time before; and that leſs was done with the conſumption of ſo much money, than might have been expected. But it muſt be likewiſe conſidered, that he entered upon that adminiſtration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loſs of Portugal, and the defection in Catalonia, which made ſuch a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary ſtateſman to have repaired, and make it flouriſh as before.

Of the Conde of Pignoranda.

The ambaſſadors had not been long at Madrid, when the Conde of Pignoranda returned thither from his negociation in the treaty of Munſter. He had been declared to be of the Council of State, after he had made that peace with Holland, and was admitted to it as ſoon as he returned. He was Conde in the right of his wife only; and before, being of a good family, Don Diego de Brachamonte, and bred in the ſtudy of the law, was looked upon as a good man of buſineſs, and ſo employed in matters of greateſt truſt. He was indeed a man of great parts, and underſtood the affairs of the world better than moſt in that Court. He was proud to the height

of

of his nation, and retained too much of the pedantry which he had brought with him from Salamanca. As ſoon as he returned, according to the method of that Court upon great and ſucceſsful employments, the Preſidentſhip de los Ordines, an office of great reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferred upon him. The ambaſſadors found no benefit by his arrival, coming from Bruſſels, which was throughly infected by Don Alonzo. The truth is, Don Alonzo, who had no affection for the King, upon the memory of ſome diſobligations when he firſt came over into England, and liked well his employment and reſidence there, uſed all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's condition thought to be irrecoverable and deſperate, and that therefore all civilities extended towards him were caſt away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was ſo eſtabliſhed, that it could never be ſhaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm friendſhip there, and to forget that there ever had been a King of England, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the ambaſſadors, after all ceremonies were over, had a private audience of the King, and deſired, "that he would appoint commiſ- "ſioners, with whom they might treat about the re- "newing the alliance between the two Crowns, which "had been provided for by the laſt treaty to be renewed "within ſo many months after the death of either King, "and with whom they might likewiſe confer upon ſuch "relief in arms and money, as his Catholic Majeſty "would think proper to ſend to their maſter into Ire- "land," (whither one of the ambaſſadors deſired to haſten his journey as ſoon as might be; and in that memorial, which they then delivered to his Catholic Majeſty, they had deſired likewiſe "that he would write

The ambaſſadors' private audience and demands.

"to

"to Owen O'Neile to diſpoſe him to ſubmit to the "King"), they received ſhortly after an anſwer, ſent to them by Don Franciſco de Melo, who told them, "that "the King had ſent him to them, to confer with them "upon the ſubſtance of their laſt memorial. He ſaid, "the King did not think it neceſſary to appoint any "committee to renew the laſt treaty of peace; which "was ſtill in force, and might well be obſerved between "the two nations; and that the renewing might be de-"ferred till the times ſhould mend;" implying very little leſs than that when the King ſhould be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the alliance. He ſaid, "he was ready to receive any propoſitions from them, "wherein they might more particularly ſet down their "deſires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing "to Owen O'Neile," (whom he called Don Eugenio,) "he had ſo miſbehaved himſelf towards his Catholic "Majeſty, by leaving his ſervice in Flanders, and tranſ-"porting himſelf into Ireland without his licence, that "his Majeſty could not in honour write to him; but "that he would take ſuch care, that he ſhould know it "would be agreeable to his Majeſty's good liking, that "he betook himſelf to the ſervice of the King of Great "Britain without reſerve; which he did believe would "diſpoſe him to it:" which method the ambaſſadors conceived was propoſed, becauſe they ſhould believe that the Spaniard had no hand in ſending him into that kingdom, or in fomenting the rebellion there; whereas at the ſame time Don Diego de la Torre was with the Iriſh as reſident or envoy from Spain.

The anſwer they receive.

This anſwer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendſhip of that Crown, though they ſtill thought they might be able to obtain ſome little favour in private, as arms, and ammunition,

munition, and a ſmall ſupply of money for the King's ſubſiſtence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was deſigned by the King to attend him in Ireland, expected only to hear that he was arrived there, till when he could not preſent his memorial ſo particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himſelf for his voyage thither: and ſo they reſted for ſome time, without giving the Court any farther trouble by audiences.

Now whilſt they were in this impatient expectation to hear from the King their maſter, who yet remained at Jerſey, by which they might take their own reſolutions, Prince Rupert came upon the coaſt of Spain with the fleet under his command; which he had brought from Ireland; and had ſent a letter on ſhore to be ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the officer upon the place ſent preſently to Don Lewis de Haro; who, in the ſame moment, ſent it to him with a very civil ſalutation. The Prince writ him word, "that he had "brought away all the fleet from Ireland, and that he had "received an aſſurance from Portugal, that he ſhould be "very welcome thither; upon which he was reſolved, "after he had attended ſome days to meet with any "Engliſh ſhips that might be prize, to go for Liſbon; "and deſired him to procure orders from the Court, "that he might find a good reception in all the ports of "Spain, if his occaſions brought him thither." The ambaſſadors ſent immediately for an audience to Don Lewis; who received them with open arms, and another kind of countenance than he had ever done before. A fleet of the King of England, under the command of a Prince of the blood, upon the coaſt of Spain, at a ſeaſon of the year when they expected the return of their galeons from the Indies, made a great conſternation

Prince Rupert comes upon the coaſt of Spain.

His letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

amongſt

amongſt the people, and the Court received the news of it with diſorder enough. All that the ambaſſadors aſked was granted without heſitation; and letters were diſpatched away that very night (copies whereof were ſent to the ambaſſadors) by ſeveral expreſſes, to all the governors of the ports, and other officers, for the good reception of Prince Rupert, or any ſhips under his command, if they came into any of the ports; and for the furniſhing them with any proviſions they ſhould ſtand in need of, with as many friendly clauſes as could have been inſerted if the King had been in poſſeſſion of his whole empire: ſo great an influence a little appearance of power had upon their ſpirits; and the ambaſſadors found they lived in another kind of air than they had done, and received every day viſits and careſſes from the Court, and from thoſe in authority.

The Prince with the groſs of his fleet goes into the river of Lisbon.

But the government of theſe benign ſtars was very ſhort: within few days after, they received news, "that "the Prince, with the groſs of his fleet, was gone into "the river of Liſbon, and that a ſquadron of four or "five ſhips, under the command of Captain Allen, be-"ing ſevered from the Prince by a ſtorm, was driven "upon the rocks at Carthagena; where the people of "the country had treated them very rudely, and ſeized "both upon the ſhips, and perſons of the men, and the "ſtorm continuing had wrecked two or three of their "veſſels in the road, though the guns and all things in "the ſhips were ſaved." When the ambaſſadors demanded juſtice, "and that reſtitution might be made of "all thoſe goods, and ordnance, and rigging of the "ſhips, which not only the people, but the governors, "and officers themſelves had ſeized upon," they were received with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the ſame expedition in granting what they could

could not deny. Orders were at laſt given for the ſetting all the men at liberty, and re-delivery of the goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their veſſels, and tranſport their men.

But as theſe orders were but faintly given, ſo they were more ſlowly executed; and a ſtronger fleet ſet out by the Parliament of England then appeared upon the coaſt, which came into the road of St. Andero's; from whence the commander in chief writ a very inſolent letter in Engliſh to the King of Spain; wherein he required, "that none of thoſe ſhips under the command "of Prince Rupert, which had revolted from the Parlia- "ment, and were in rebellion againſt it, might be re- "ceived into any of the ports of Spain, and that thoſe "ſhips which were in the ports of Carthagena might be "delivered to him, and the ordnance and tackling of "the other which were wrecked might be carefully "kept, and be delivered to ſuch perſon as ſhould be au- "thorized to receive the ſame by the Commonwealth "of England; to whom they belonged:" and concluded, "that as the Commonwealth of England was willing to "live in amity and good intelligence with his Catholic "Majeſty, ſo they knew very well how to do themſelves "right for any injury, or diſcourteſy, which they ſhould "ſuſtain."

The chief commander of the Parliament's fleet comes on the Spaniſh coaſt.

His letter to the King of Spain.

This imperious ſtyle made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Court, that all the importunity the ambaſſadors could uſe could get nothing done at Carthagena in purſuance of the orders they had ſent from the Court; but the poor men were, after long attendance, forced to tranſport themſelves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them marched over land, and were compelled to liſt themſelves in the Spaniſh ſervice at land; where they, for the moſt part, periſhed; care being

in the mean time taken, that the Parliament fleet ſhould be received in all places, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and kindneſs; and the King ſent a ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the commander. In this triumph he ſailed from thence into Portugal, and dropped his anchors in the river of Liſbon, at a very ſmall diſtance from the fleet of Prince Rupert; and ſuffered not any ſhip to enter into that river; but denounced war againſt that kingdom, if that fleet were not preſently delivered up into his hands.

He ſails into the river of Liſbon.

Requires Prince Rupert's fleet to be delivered up.

The Portugueze had received Prince Rupert very civilly, bought all the prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free uſe of all their ports, and furniſhed him with all things he ſtood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of Portugal then living, who was a young man of great hope and courage, made great profeſſions of friendſhip to our King, and of a deſire to aſſiſt him by all the ways and means which could be propoſed to them. But when their river was blocked up, their ſhips taken, and the whole kingdom upon the matter beſieged by the Parliament fleet, of which they knew the Spaniard would quickly make uſe, the Council was aſtoniſhed, and knew not what to do: their free trade with England was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they ſhould be deprived of that, they ſhould not be able to preſerve it any where elſe; which would put the whole kingdom into a flame; and therefore they beſought their King, "that Prince Rupert might be de-"fired to leave the river, and to carry his fleet from "thence;" which was not poſſible for him to do without fighting with the enemy, to whom he was much inferior in ſtrength of ſhipping, and number of men, by the loſs he had ſuſtained at Carthagena.

The Prince of Portugal had ſo great indignation at this

this overture made by the Council, that he declared "he "would have all the ſhips in the port made ready, and "would himſelf go on board, and join with Prince Ru- "pert, and fight the Engliſh, and drive them from "thence:" and he manifeſted a great deſire to do ſo; but the Council prevailed with the Queen not to conſent to that. So in the end, after ſome months ſtay there, and the fleet being fully ſupplied with whatever it ſtood in need of, Prince Rupert found it neceſſary, upon the aſſurance the Portugueze gave him that the other fleet ſhould not follow him till after two tides, to ſet ſail and leave that kingdom; which he did with ſo full a gale, that the Parliament's commander, after ſo long a ſtay, found it to no purpoſe to follow him; but took full vengeance upon Portugal for reſcuing his prey from him; until they were compelled, after great ſufferings, to purchaſe their peace from Cromwell upon very hard conditions.

Prince Rupert eſcapes out of the river of Lisbon with his fleet.

It ſeemed no good ſign to the ambaſſadors that Prince Rupert had left Ireland; where there were ſo many good ports, and where the fleet had been ſo neceſſary for the carrying on his Majeſty's ſervice. But, in a ſhort time after, they received advertiſement, "that the King had "laid aſide his purpoſe of going thither, and had taken "new reſolutions." Before the Marquis of Ormond could draw his army together, Cromwell had beſieged Tredagh: and though the garriſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that number of ſo choice men, that they could wiſh for nothing more than that the enemy would attempt to take them by ſtorm, the very next day after he came before the town he gave a general aſſault, and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, after a day more, he aſſaulted it again in two places, with ſo much courage, that he entered in both;

The affairs of Ireland at this time.

and though the governor and ſome of the chief officers retired in diſorder into a fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panic fear ſo poſſeſſed the ſoldiers, that they threw down their arms upon a general offer of quarter: ſo that the enemy entered the works without reſiſtance, and put every man, governor, officer, and ſoldier, to the ſword; and the whole army being entered the town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every man that related to the garriſon, and all the citizens who were Iriſh, man, woman, and child, to the ſword; and there being three or four officers of name, and of good families, who had found ſome way, by the humanity of ſome ſoldiers of the enemy, to conceal themſelves for four or five days, being afterwards diſcovered, they were butchered in cold blood.

Tredagh taken by ſtorm.

This inſupportable loſs took away all hopes from the Marquis of Ormond of drawing an army ſtrong enough, and reſolute enough, together, to meet Cromwell in the field, during the ſummer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into thoſe quarters, where, in reſpect of the ſtrong paſſes, he might be ſecure, and from whence he might attempt upon the enemy. Cromwell in the mean time took no reſt, but, having made himſelf terrible by that exceſs of rigour and cruelty, marched into Munſter againſt the Lord Inchiquin, and that body of Engliſh which was under his command. Here he defied fortune again; and marched ſo far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reaſonable hope to receive ſupplies, that he muſt neceſſarily have been ſtarved, and could not have retired, all the bridges over which he had paſſed being broken down, if the city of Cork, which he could not have forced, had not been by the garriſon baſely delivered up to him; thoſe officers who had been moſt obliged to the

Cromwell marches into Munſter.

His ſucceſs there.

the Lord Inchiquin, and in whom he had moſt confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forſaking him: ſo that by the example of Cork, and by the terror of Tredagh, the whole province of Munſter in a very ſhort time fell into Cromwell's hands, except ſome few towns and ſea-ports, which, being garriſoned by the Iriſh, would, neither officers nor ſoldiers, receive or obey any orders which were ſent from the Lord of Ormond. The King receiving information of this at Jerſey, gave over the thought very reaſonably of adventuring himſelf into Ireland; and diſmiſſed the two ſhips, which, by the direction of the Prince of Orange, had attended ſo long at St. Maloes, to have wafted him thither.

The King gives over the thought of going into Ireland.

Though Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Lauther-dale, and the other Scottiſh lords, who remained in Holland when the King came into France, durſt not return into their own country, yet they held intelligence with their party there. And though the Marquis of Argyle had the ſole power, yet he could not extinguiſh the impatient deſire of that whole nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced inſtances enough, which informed him, how the affections of the people were generally diſpoſed, and upon how ſlippery ground himſelf ſtood, if he were not ſupported by the King; and that the government he was then poſſeſſed of could not be laſting, except he had another force to defend him, than that of his own nation. And he durſt not receive any from Cromwell, who would willingly have aſſiſted him, for fear of being entirely deſerted by all his friends, who had been ſtill firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into Scotland, and keeping the Hamiltonian faction from entering with him, by the ſentence that was already againſt them, and to oblige the King to ſubmit to the Covenant, and all

Argyle deſigns to invite the King into Scotland.

thoſe other obligations which were at that time eſtabliſhed; and if his Majeſty would put himſelf into his hands upon thoſe conditions, he ſhould be ſure to keep the power in himſelf under the King's name, and might reaſonably hope that Cromwell, who made no pretence to Scotland, might be well enough pleaſed that his Majeſty might remain there under his government, and aſſurance, that he ſhould not give England or Ireland any diſturbance.

Provides, that a meſſage be ſent to his Majeſty to Jerſey upon the old conditions.

Upon this preſumption, he wiſhed the Council of Scotland, and that committee of the Parliament in whom the authority was veſted, to ſend again to the King, (who, they thought, by this time, might be weary of Jerſey), to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the people did ſo paſſionately deſire, he renewed all the ſolemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongſt them, but upon his firſt ſubmitting to and performing all thoſe conditions. All things being thus ſettled, and agreed, they ſent a gentleman with letters into Jerſey, to invite his Majeſty again to come into his kingdom of Scotland, not without a rude inſinuation that it was the laſt invitation he ſhould receive. The Scottiſh lords, who are mentioned before to be then in Holland, were glad of this advance; and believed that if the King were there, they ſhould eaſily find the way home again. And therefore they prevailed with the Prince of Orange, to write very earneſtly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themſelves made great inſtance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, "that the King "would not loſe this opportunity to improve his condi- "tion." Nobody preſumed to adviſe him to ſubmit to all that was propoſed; and yet it was evident, that if he did not

not ſubmit to all, he could have the benefit of none; but "that he ſhould make ſuch an anſwer as might engage the Scots in a treaty, for the King's better information, and ſatisfaction in ſome particulars: which "being done, he ſhould imply a purpoſe to tranſport his "perſon thither."

The ſpring was now coming on, and though Jerſey was a convenient place to retire to, in order to conſider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reſide in, nor would be longer ſafe, than whilſt the Parliament had ſo much elſe to do, that it could not ſpare wherewithal to reduce it. The deſign for Ireland was at an end, and the deſpair of being welcome in any other place compelled the King to think better of Scotland; and ſo, according to the advice he had received, he returned an anſwer to the meſſage from Scotland, "that there were "many particulars contained in the propoſitions which "he did not underſtand, and which it was neceſſary for "him to be adviſed in; and, in order thereunto, and that "he might be well informed and inſtructed in what ſo "nearly concerned him, he reſolved, by ſuch a time, "which was ſet down, to find himſelf in Holland; "where he deſired to meet ſuch perſons as his kingdom "of Scotland would ſend to him, and to confer, and "treat, and agree with thoſe upon all things that "might give his ſubjects of that kingdom ſatisfac-"tion; which his Majeſty did very much deſire to "do."

The King's anſwer, "that he would have a treaty with them in Holland."

The Queen had ſo good an opinion of many of the Scottiſh lords, and ſo ill a one of many of the Engliſh who were about the King, (in truth, ſhe had ſo entire a deſpair of all other ways), that ſhe was very deſirous that the overtures from Scotland ſhould be hearkened to, and embraced: beſides that ſhe found her authority was

not ſo great with the King, as ſhe expected, ſhe ſaw no poſſibility of their being long together: ſhe knew well that the Court of France, that grew every day into a cloſer correſpondence with Cromwell, would not endure that the King ſhould make his reſidence in any part of that kingdom, and ſo ſhortened the aſſignations which they had made for her own ſupport, that ſhe was at no eaſe, and begun to think of diſſolving her own family, and of her own retiring into a monaſtery; which from that time ſhe practiſed by degrees: and, no doubt, that conſideration which made moſt impreſſion upon the King, as it had done upon his father, and terrified him moſt from complying with the Scots' demands, which was the alteration it would make in religion, and the government of the Church, ſeemed not to her of moment enough to reject the other conveniences; nor did ſhe prefer the order and decency of the Church of England, before the ſordidneſs of the Kirk of Scotland, but thought it the beſt expedient to advance her own religion, that the latter ſhould triumph over the former.

The Queen adviſes the King to agree with the Scots upon their terms.

She therefore writ earneſtly to the King her ſon, "that "he would entertain this motion from Scotland, as "his only refuge; and that he would invite commiſ- "ſioners to meet him in Holland, in ſuch a place as the "Prince of Orange ſhould adviſe;" and deſired that, "in his paſſage thither, he would appoint ſome place "where her Majeſty would meet him; that they might "ſpend ſome days together in conſultation upon what "might concern them jointly." In all which his Majeſty complying, the city of Beauvais in Picardy was appointed for the interview; where both their Majeſties met, and converſed together three or four days; and then the Queen returned to Paris, and the King paſſed through Flanders to Breda; which the Prince of Orange thought

Their Majeſties meet at Beauvais.

The King goes to Breda.

thought to be the fitteſt place for the treaty, the States having no mind that the King ſhould come any more to the Hague.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners came to Breda with the very ſame propoſitions which had been formerly ſent, and without the leaſt mitigation, and as poſitive an exception to perſons: ſo that if the King ſhould incline to go thither, he muſt go without any one chaplain of his own: there were miniſters ſent from Scotland to attend, and to inſtruct him. His Majeſty muſt not carry with him any one counſellor, nor any perſon who had ever ſerved his father in the war againſt the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that nobody might have cauſe to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worſe treated than they had reaſon to expect, the King himſelf, and all who ſhould attend upon him, were firſt to ſign the Covenant before they ſhould be admitted to enter into the kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any man juſtly except againſt any thing that was afterwards done to him.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners come to Breda, and the terms they bring.

Here was no great argument for conſultation: no man had ſo ill an underſtanding, as not to diſcern the violence that was offered to honour, juſtice, and conſcience; yet whoever objected againſt what was propoſed, upon any of thoſe conſiderations, was looked upon as a party, becauſe he himſelf could not be ſuffered to attend the King. It was thought to be of great weight, that they who diſſuaded the King from going into Scotland, upon thoſe rude and barbarous terms, could not propoſe any thing elſe for him to do, nor any place where he might ſecurely repoſe himſelf, with any hope of ſubſiſtence: a very ſad ſtate for a prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifeſt enough, that the kings of the earth are not ſuch a body as is ſenſible of the indignity and outrage that

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is offered to any member of it. The Scottiſh Hamiltonian lords were thought to be the moſt competent counſellors, ſince they, by going, were to be expoſed to great rigour, and to undergo the ſevereſt part of all cenſures. They could not ſit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they ſhould not be ſuffered to be about the perſon of the King: yet all theſe reſolved to wait upon him, and perſuaded him to believe, "that his Ma-"jeſty's preſence would diſſipate thoſe clouds; and that "a little time would produce many alterations, which "could not be preſently effected." For his Majeſty's ſigning the Covenant, "he ſhould tell the commiſ-"ſioners, that he would defer it till he came thither, "that he might think better of it; and that if then the "Kirk ſhould preſs it upon him, he would give them "ſatisfaction. And they were confident, that, after he "ſhould be there, he ſhould be no more importuned in "it, but that even the churchmen themſelves would "contend to make themſelves gracious to him."

This kind of argumentation wrought much with the Prince of Orange, but more with the Duke of Buckingham, who had waited upon the King from the time of his adventure with the Earl of Holland, (againſt whoſe perſon there was no exception), and with Wilmot, and Wentworth, (who reſolved to go with his Majeſty, and would ſubmit to any conditions, which would be required of them), and with others about the King, who could not digeſt the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promiſes thoſe Scottiſh lords made to them, who were like to grow into authority again when they ſhould be once in their native air and upon their own ſoil, prevailed with them to uſe all their credit with the King to embark himelf, and try how propitious fortune would be to him

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in Scotland. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a ſtrong deſpair of any other expedient, prevailed ſo far with his Majeſty, that he reſolved, upon what terms ſoever, to embark himſelf, in Holland, upon a fleet which the Prince of Orange provided for him; and ſo with all the Scottiſh, and very few Engliſh ſervants, to ſet ſail for Scotland. The King reſolves for Scotland.

There were two very ſtrong arguments, which made deep impreſſion on thoſe lords who very vehemently diſſuaded, and ever proteſted againſt his Majeſty's going for Scotland, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the higheſt importance, they could not make uſe of to convert others, eſpecially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The firſt, "that the "expedition of Duke Hamilton the year before, with "an army as numerous, and much better furniſhed, and "provided, than Scotland could in many years be again "enabled to ſend out, made it manifeſt enough, how little "that nation, how united ſoever, could prevail againſt "the force of England:" The other, "that the whole "and abſolute power of Scotland being, at that time, "confeſſedly veſted in the Marquis of Argyle, it might "reaſonably be feared, and expected, that the King "ſhould no ſooner arrive there, and the leaſt appear-"ance be diſcovered of ſuch reſolutions, or alterations in "the affections of the people, upon which the Hamil-"tonian faction wholly and ſolely depended, but Argyle "would immediately deliver up the perſon of the King "into the hands of Cromwell; and, with the aſſiſtance "he would willingly give, make that kingdom tributary "or ſubſervient to him, whilſt the King remained his "priſoner, and Argyle continued his vicegerent in Scot-"land." No doubt theſe objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of apprehenſion, Arguments of ſome lords againſt the King's going to Scotland.

ſion, by many men, who were not blinded with paſſion, or amazed with deſpair: and though they were not able to give any other counſel, what courſe the King might ſteer with reaſonable hope and ſecurity, they might yet warrantably diſſuade his expoſing himſelf to ſo many viſible dangers as that voyage was ſubject to both at ſea and land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what obſcurity ſoever, in any part of the world, was to be preferred before the empty name of King in any of his own dominions; which was the beſt that could reaſonably be expected from the conditions which were impoſed upon him; to which he was compelled to ſubmit.

The two ambaſſadors in Spain had order from the King to ſtay where they were.

During this time, when the ambaſſadors who were in Spain expected every day to hear of his Majeſty's being arrived in Ireland, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a diſpatch, the King gave them notice of this his reſolution, and directed them "to remain where "they were, till he could better judge of his own for-"tune." They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a ſtrong averſion that the King ſhould ever venture himſelf in the hands of that party of the Scottiſh nation, which had treated his father ſo perfidiouſly. And they were now neceſſitated to ſtay there, where they had received ſo little encouragement, and had no reaſon to expect more. They therefore reſolved to ſet the beſt face they could upon it, and deſired an audience from the King: in which they told his Catholic Majeſty, "that they had received letters from the "King their maſter; who commanded them to inform "his Majeſty, who, he knew well, would be glad to hear "of any good fortune that befell him, that it had now "pleaſed God to work ſo far upon the hearts and affec-"tions of his ſubjects of Scotland, that they had given

They acquaint the King of Spain with their maſter's reſolution for Scotland.

"over

" over all thoſe factions and animoſities, which had here-
" tofore divided them, and made them rather inſtruments
" of miſchiefs, than benefit to his bleſſed father, and to
" himſelf: that they were now ſenſible of all thoſe miſ-
" carriages, and had ſent unanimouſly to entreat his
Majeſty to come into that kingdom, and to take them
" all into his protection: with which his Majeſty was
" ſo well ſatisfied, that he had laid aſide the thought of
" tranſporting himſelf into Ireland; which he had in-
" tended to do; and was gone into Scotland; where
" the kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and from
" whence he could viſit England, or Ireland, as he
" found it moſt convenient: and that he had reaſon to
" believe, that his friends in either of the kingdoms
" would quickly appear in arms, when they were ſure
" to be ſo powerfully aſſiſted, and ſeconded." And they
ſaid, " they would, from time to time, inform his Ma-
" jeſty of the good ſucceſs that ſhould fall out." The
King profeſſed " to be very glad of this good news; and
" that they ſhould aſſure the King their maſter, that he
" would be always ready to make all the demonſtration
" of a brotherly affection that the ill condition of his
" own affairs would permit; and that, if it pleaſed God
" to give a peace to the two Crowns, the world ſhould
" ſee how forward he would be to revenge the wrong and
" indignity the King of Great Britain had undergone."

The King of Spain's anſwer to them.

Though the ambaſſadors themſelves were afflicted with the news of his Majeſty's being gone for Scotland, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that faction there, yet they found his Majeſty was much the more eſteemed in this Court by it. He was before looked upon as being diſpoſſeſſed and diſinherited of all his dominions, as if he had no more ſubjects than thoſe few who were baniſhed with him, and that

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there was an entire defection in all the reſt. But now that he was poſſeſſed of one whole kingdom, in which no man appeared in arms againſt him, a kingdom which had been famous for many warlike actions, and which always bred a very warlike people, which had borne good parts in all the wars of Europe in this age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and adminiſtered reaſonable hope that he might be eſtabliſhed in the other two kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous army on foot at that very time: ſo that the ambaſſadors were much better looked upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the Engliſh merchants who lived in the ports of Spain, as they had ſometimes occaſion to do, upon taxes and impoſitions laid upon them, contrary to the treaties which had been made, and which they ſaid were ſtill in force, they were heard with reſpect; the merchants were relieved; and many favours were done to particular perſons upon their deſires and interpoſition: ſo that they were not ſo much out of countenance as they had been, and all men ſpoke with more freedom and deteſtation againſt the rebellion in England, and the barbarity thereof, than they had uſed to do.

There fell out at this time, and before the King left Holland, an accident of ſuch a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of Scotland, determined that the King ſhould once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that nation, could not but have diverted his Majeſty from that northern expedition; which, how unſecure ſoever it appeared to be for the King, was predeſtinated for a greater chaſtiſement and mortification of that people, as it ſhortly after proved to be. When the King had left Holland, the

ſummer

ſummer before, and intended only to make France his way to Ireland, he had given his commiſſion to the Marquis of Mountroſe, to gather ſuch a force together, as by the help of the northern princes he might be enabled to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of ſucceſs, ſent ſeveral officers who had ſerved in Germany, and promiſed very much, to draw ſuch troops together as they ſhould be enabled to do, and himſelf, with a great train of officers and ſervants, went for Hamburg; which he appointed for the rendezvous for all theſe troops, and from whence he could in the mean time viſit ſuch courts of the neighbour princes and ſtates, as he ſhould be encouraged to do; and keep ſuch intelligence with his friends in Scotland, as ſhould provide for his reception.

The Marquis of Mountroſe goes for Hamburg to ſolicit for forces.

Beſides the hopes and encouragement he had received from the ambaſſador Wolfelte, to expect good ſupplies in Denmark, there were many officers of good name and account in Sweden, of the Scottiſh nation, who were grown rich, and lived in plenty in that kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held correſpondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themſelves, "that if the Marquis engaged himſelf in the "King's ſervice in the kingdom of Scotland, they would "give him notable aſſiſtance in money, arms, and men." In a word, he ſent, or went in perſon, to both thoſe kingdoms; where he found the performance very diſproportionable to their promiſes. Queen Chriſtina had received an agent from England with wonderful civility and grace, and expreſſed a great eſteem of the perſon of Cromwell, as a man of glorious achievements; and before ſhe reſigned the Crown, which ſhe in few years after did, ſhe engaged it in a faſt alliance with the new Common-

Commonwealth, and diſpoſed her ſucceſſor to look upon it as a neceſſary ſupport to his Crown. In Denmark, the Marquis found good wiſhes enough, a hearty deteſtation of all the villainies which had been acted in England, and as hearty wiſhes for the advancement and proſperity of the King's affairs; but the kingdom itſelf was very poor, and full of diſcontent, the King not ſo much eſteemed, becauſe not ſo much feared, as his father had been, and he had been compelled to make many unreaſonable conceſſions to Holland, that he might have aſſiſtance from them, to protect him from thoſe aſſaults and invaſions which were threatened from Sweden. So that the Marquis was obliged to return to Hamburg, with very ſmall ſupplies, from either or both thoſe kingdoms: and there he received no better account from thoſe officers who had been ſent into Germany. His deſign had always been to land in the Highlands of Scotland, before the winter ſeaſon ſhould be over, both for the ſafety of his embarkation, and that he might have time to draw thoſe people together, who, he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it ſhould be known at Edinburgh that he was landed in the kingdom. He had, by frequent meſſages, kept a conſtant correſpondence with thoſe principal heads of the Clans who were moſt powerful in the Highlands, and were of known or unſuſpected affection to the King, and advertiſed them of all his motions and deſigns. And by them acquainted thoſe of the Lowlands of all his reſolutions; who had promiſed, upon the firſt notice of his arrival, to reſort with all their friends and followers to him.

Whether theſe men did really believe, that their own ſtrength would be ſufficient to ſubdue their enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bring-

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ing over troops of foreigners would leſſen the numbers and affections of the natives, they did write very earneſtly to the Marquis, "to haſten his coming over with offi-"cers, arms, and ammunition; for which he ſhould "find hands enough;" and gave him notice, "that the "Committee of Eſtates at Edinburgh had ſent again to "the King to come over to them; and that the people "were ſo impatient for his preſence, that Argyle was "compelled to conſent to the invitation." It is very probable that this made the greateſt impreſſion upon him. He knew very well how few perſons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in thoſe principles, which could only confirm his Majeſty in his former reſolutions againſt the perſuaſions and importunities of many others, who knew how to repreſent to him the deſperateneſs of his condition any other way, than by repairing into Scotland upon any conditions. Mountroſe knew, that of the two factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable enemies; ſo that which ſoever prevailed, he ſhould be ſtill in the ſame ſtate, the whole Kirk, of what temper ſoever, being alike malicious to him; and hearing likewiſe of the ſucceſſive misfortunes in Ireland, he concluded, the King would not truſt himſelf there. Therefore, upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from Germany and thoſe northern princes would not increaſe the ſtrength he had already, he cauſed, in the depth of the winter, thoſe ſoldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be embarked, and ſent officers with them, who knew the country, with directions that they ſhould land in ſuch a place in the Highlands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or ſent them orders. And then in another veſſel, manned by peo-

ple well known to him, and commanded by a captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that coaſt, he embarked himſelf, and near one hundred officers, and landed in another creek, not far from the other place, whither his ſoldiers were directed. And both the one and the other party were ſet ſafely on ſhore in the places they deſigned; from whence the Marquis himſelf with ſome ſervants, and officers, repaired preſently to the houſe of a gentleman of quality, with whom he had correſponded, who expected him; by whom he was well received, and thought himſelf to be in ſecurity till he might put his affairs in ſome method: and therefore ordered his other ſmall troops to contain themſelves in thoſe uncouth quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be diſturbed by the viſitation of any enemy.

Mountroſe embarks for Scotland, lands there in March, 1649.

After he had ſtayed there a ſhort time, it being in March about the end of the year 1649, he quickly poſſeſſed himſelf of an old caſtle; which, in reſpect of the ſituation in a country ſo impoſſible for any army to march in, he thought ſtrong enough for his purpoſe: thither he conveyed the arms, ammunition, and troops, which he had brought with him. And then he publiſhed his declaration, "that he came with the King's "commiſſion, to aſſiſt thoſe his good ſubjects, and to "preſerve them from oppreſſion: that he did not intend "to give any interruption to the treaty that he heard "was entered into with his Majeſty; but, on the con-"trary, hoped that his being in the head of an army, "how ſmall ſoever, that was faithful to the King, "might advance the ſame. However, he had given "ſufficient proof in his former actions, that if any agree-"ment were made with the King, upon the firſt order "from his Majeſty, he ſhould lay down his arms, and "diſpoſe

Publiſhes his declaration.

" diſpoſe himſelf according to his Majeſty's good plea-
" ſure." Theſe declarations he ſent to his friends to be ſcattered by them, and diſperſed amongſt the people, as they could be able. He writ likewiſe to thoſe of the nobility, and the heads of the ſeveral Clans, "to draw ſuch " forces together, as they thought neceſſary to join with " him;" and he received anſwers from many of them, by which they deſired him "to advance more into the " land," (for he was yet in the remoteſt parts of Cathneſs), and aſſured him, "that they would meet him with good " numbers:" and they did prepare ſo to do, ſome really; and others, with a purpoſe to betray him.

In this ſtate ſtood the affair in the end of the year 1649: but becauſe the unfortunate tragedy of that noble perſon ſucceeded ſo ſoon after, without the intervention of any notable circumſtances to interrupt it, we will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be reſumed in the proper ſeaſon; which quickly enſued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of Argyle was vigilant enough, to obſerve the motion of an enemy that was ſo formidable to him; and had preſent information of his arrival in the Highlands, and of the ſmall forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then ſitting at Edinburgh, their meſſenger being returned to them from Jerſey, with an account, "that the King would treat with their commiſ-" ſioners at Breda;" for whom they were preparing their inſtructions.

The continuation of Mountroſe's affairs, after the end of the year 49, to his death.

The alarm of Mountroſe's being landed ſtartled them all, and gave them no leiſure to think of any thing elſe than of ſending forces to hinder the recourſe of others to join with him. They immediately ſent Colonel Straghan, a diligent and active officer, with a choice party of the beſt horſe they had, to make all poſſible haſte towards him,

Colonel Straghan ſent againſt him and his ſmall forces.

him, and to prevent the inſurrections, which they feared would be in ſeveral parts of the Highlands. And, within few days after, David Leſley followed with a ſtronger party of horſe and foot. The encouragement the Marquis of Mountroſe received from his friends, and the unpleaſantneſs of the quarters in which he was, prevailed with him to march, with theſe few troops, more into the land. And the Highlanders flocking to him from all quarters, though ill armed, and worſe diſciplined, made him undervalue any enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. Straghan made ſuch haſte, that the Earl of Southerland, who at leaſt pretended to have gathered together a body of fifteen hundred men to meet Mountroſe, choſe rather to join with Straghan: others did the like, who had made the ſame promiſes, or ſtayed at home to expect the event of the firſt encounter. The Marquis was without any body of horſe to diſcover the motion of an enemy, but depended upon all neceſſary intelligence from the affection of the people; which he believed to be the ſame it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the tyranny of Argyle, and his having cauſed very many to be barbarouſly murdered, without any form of law or juſtice, who had been in arms with Mountroſe, notwithſtanding all acts of pardon and indemnity, had ſo broken their hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that Straghan was within a ſmall diſtance of him, before he heard of his approach; and thoſe Highlanders, who had ſeemed to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a ſudden, or threw down their arms; ſo that he had none left, but a company of good officers, and five or ſix hundred foreigners, Dutch and Germans, who had been acquainted with

with their officers. With theſe, he betook himſelf to a place of ſome advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the buſhes and ſmall ſhrubs which filled it: and there they made a defence for ſome time with notable courage.

But the enemy being ſo much ſuperior in number, the common ſoldiers, being all foreigners, after about a hundred of them were killed upon the place, threw down their arms; and the Marquis, ſeeing all loſt, threw away his ribbon and George, (for he was a Knight of the Garter), and found means to change his clothes with a fellow of the country, and ſo after having gone on foot two or three miles, he got into a houſe of a gentleman, where he remained concealed about two days: moſt of the other officers were ſhortly after taken priſoners, all the country deſiring to merit from Argyle by betraying all thoſe into his hands which they believed to be his enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the houſe, or any other way, the Marquis himſelf became their priſoner. The ſtrangers who were taken, were ſet at liberty, and tranſported themſelves into their own countries; and the caſtle, in which there was a little garriſon, preſently rendered itſelf; ſo that there was no more fear of an enemy in thoſe parts.

By whom Mountroſe is routed.

The Marquis of Mountroſe taken priſoner.

The Marquis of Mountroſe, and the reſt of the priſoners, were the next day, or ſoon after, delivered to David Leſley; who was come up with his forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in triumph to Edinburgh; whither notice was quickly ſent of their great victory; which was received there with wonderful joy and acclamation. David Leſley treated the Marquis with great inſolence, and for ſome days carried him in the ſame clothes, and habit, in which he was taken; but at laſt permitted him to buy better. His behaviour

was, in the whole time, ſuch as became a great man; his countenance ſerene and cheerful, as one that was ſuperior to all thoſe reproaches, which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to paſs.

Brought to Edinburgh.

When he came to one of the gates of Edinburgh, he was met by ſome of the magiſtrates, to whom he was delivered, and by them preſently put into a new cart, purpoſely made, in which there was a high chair, or bench, upon which he ſate, that the people might have a full view of him, being bound with a cord drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſtened through holes made in the cart. When he was in this poſture, the hangman took off his hat, and rode himſelf before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken priſoners with him, walking two and two before the cart; the ſtreets and windows being full of people to behold the triumph over a perſon whoſe name had made them tremble ſome few years before, and into whoſe hands the magiſtrates of that place had, upon their knees, delivered the keys of that city. In this manner he was carried to the common gaol, where he was received and treated as a common malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of Lowden, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent declamation againſt him: told him, "he had "broken all the covenants by which that whole nation "ſtood obliged; and had impiouſly rebelled againſt "God, the King, and the kingdom; that he had com-"mitted many horrible murders, treaſons, and im-"pieties, for all which he was now brought to ſuffer "condign puniſhment;" with all thoſe inſolent reproaches upon his perſon, and his actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to uſe.

He is brought before the Parliament.

Permiſſion

. Permiſſion was then given to him to ſpeak; and without the leaſt trouble in his countenance, or diſorder, upon all the indignities he had ſuffered, he told them, "ſince "the King had owned them ſo far as to treat with them, "he had appeared before them with reverence, and bare- "headed, which otherwiſe he would not willingly have "done: that he had done nothing of which he was "aſhamed, or had cauſe to repent; that the firſt Cove- "nant, he had taken, and complied with it, and with "them who took it, as long as the ends for which it was "ordained were obſerved; but when he diſcovered, "which was now evident to all the world, that private and "particular men deſigned to ſatisfy their own ambition "and intereſt, inſtead of conſidering the public benefit; "and that, under the pretence of reforming ſome errors "in religion, they reſolved to abridge and take away "the King's juſt power, and lawful authority, he had "withdrawn himſelf from that engagement: that for "the League and Covenant, he had never taken it, and "therefore could not break it: and it was now too appa- "rent to the whole Chriſtian world, what monſtrous "miſchiefs it had produced: that when, under colour of "it, an army from Scotland had invaded England in "aſſiſtance of the rebellion that was then againſt their "lawful King, he had, by his Majeſty's command, re- "ceived a commiſſion from him to raiſe forces in Scot- "land, that he might thereby divert them from the "other odious proſecution: that he had executed that "commiſſion with the obedience and duty he owed to "the King; and, in all the circumſtances of it, had pro- "ceeded like a gentleman; and had never ſuffered any "blood to be ſhed but in the heat of the battle; and "that he ſaw many perſons there, whoſe lives he had "ſaved: that when the King commanded him, he laid

His behaviour there.

" down his arms, and withdrew out of the kingdom; " which they could not have compelled him to have " done." He ſaid, " he was now again entered into the " kingdom by his Majeſty's command, and with his " authority: and what ſucceſs ſoever it might have " pleaſed God to have given him, he would always have " obeyed any commands he ſhould have received from " him." He adviſed them, " to conſider well of the " conſequence before they proceeded againſt him, and " that all his actions might be examined, and judged by " the laws of the land, or thoſe of nations."

As ſoon as he had ended his diſcourſe, he was ordered to withdraw; and, after a ſhort ſpace, was again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, " that he was, on the " morrow, being the one and twentieth of May 1650, to " be carried to Edinburgh Croſs, and there to be hanged " upon a gallows thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three " hours, and then to be taken down, and his head to be " cut off upon a ſcaffold, and hanged on Edinburgh " Tolbooth; his legs and arms to be hanged up in other " public towns of the kingdom, and his body to be bu- " ried at the place where he was to be executed, except " the Kirk ſhould take off his excommunication; and " then his body might be buried in the common place " of burial." He deſired, " that he might ſay ſome- " what to them;" but was not ſuffered, and ſo was carried back to the priſon.

The ſentence againſt him.

That he might not enjoy any eaſe or quiet during the ſhort remainder of his life, their miniſters came preſently to inſult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and aſſured him, " that the " judgment he was the next day to ſuffer, was but an " eaſy prologue to that which he was to undergo after- " wards." After many ſuch barbarities, they offered to intercede

His diſcourſe with the Preſbyterian miniſters.

intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well underſtood the form of their common prayer, in thoſe caſes, to be only the moſt virulent and inſolent imprecations upon the perſons of thoſe they prayed againſt, "(Lord, vouchſafe yet to "touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible ſinner, "this wicked, perjured, traitorous, and profane perſon, "who refuſes to hearken to the voice of thy Kirk," and the like charitable expreſſions), and therefore he deſired them "to ſpare their pains, and to leave him to his own "devotions." He told them, "that they were a mi-"ſerable, deluded, and deluding people; and would "ſhortly bring that poor nation under the moſt inſup-"portable ſervitude ever people had ſubmitted to." He told them, "he was prouder to have his head ſet "upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could "have been to have had his picture hang in the King's "bedchamber: that he was ſo far from being troubled "that his four limbs were to be hanged in four cities "of the kingdom, that he heartily wiſhed that he had "fleſh enough to be ſent to every city in Chriſtendom, "as a teſtimony of the cauſe for which he ſuffered."

His execution.

The next day, they executed every part and circumſtance of that barbarous ſentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greateſt piety, that a good Chriſtian could manifeſt. He magnified the virtue, courage, and religion of the laſt King, exceedingly commended the juſtice, and goodneſs, and underſtanding of the preſent King; and prayed, "that they might not "betray him as they had done his father." When he had ended all he meant to ſay, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one ſcene more to act of their tyranny. The hangman brought the book that had been

been publiſhed of his truly heroic actions, whilſt he had commanded in that kingdom, which book was tied in a ſmall cord that was put about his neck. The Marquis ſmiled at this new inſtance of their malice, and thanked them for it; and ſaid, "he was pleaſed that it ſhould "be there; and was prouder of wearing it, than ever he "had been of the Garter;" and ſo renewing ſome devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt act of the executioner.

The execution of his officers.

Soon after, the officers who had been taken with him, Sir William Urry, Sir Francis Hay, and many others, of as good families as any in the kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in ſeveral quarters of the kingdom; many of them being ſuffered to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to ſave, one Colonel Whitford; who, when he was brought to die, ſaid, "he knew the reaſon why he was put to death; which "was only becauſe he had killed Doriſlaus at the "Hague;" who was one of thoſe who had joined in the murder of the laſt King. One of the magiſtrates, who were preſent to ſee the execution, cauſed it to be ſuſpended, till he preſently informed the Council what the man had ſaid; and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and ſo preſerved the gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that action.

Thus died the gallant Marquis of Mountroſe, after he had given as great a teſtimony of loyalty and courage, as a ſubject can do, and performed as wonderful actions in ſeveral battles, upon as great inequality of numbers, and as great diſadvantages in reſpect of arms, and other preparations for war, as have been performed in this age. He was a gentleman of a very ancient extraction, many of whoſe anceſtors had exerciſed the higheſt charges under the King in that kingdom, and had

His character.

had been allied to the Crown itſelf. He was of very good parts, which were improved by a good education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of Argyle, (as he was too apt to contemn thoſe he did not love), who wanted nothing but honeſty and courage to be a very extraordinary man, having all other good talents in a very great degree. Mountroſe was in his nature fearleſs of danger, and never declined any enterpriſe for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected thoſe which ſeemed deſperate to other men, and did believe ſomewhat to be in himſelf above other men, which made him live more eaſily towards thoſe who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him, (towards whom he exerciſed wonderful civility and generoſity), than with his ſuperiors or equals. He was naturally jealous, and ſuſpected thoſe who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean ſo well as he. He was not without vanity, but his virtues were much ſuperior, and he well deſerved to have his memory preſerved, and celebrated amongſt the moſt illuſtrious perſons of the age in which he lived.

The King received an account and information of all theſe particulars, before he embarked from Holland, without any other apology for the affront and indignity to himſelf, than that they aſſured him, "that the pro- "ceeding againſt the late Marquis of Mountroſe had "been for his ſervice." They who were moſt diſpleaſed with Argyle and his faction, were not ſorry for this inhuman and monſtrous proſecution; which at the ſame time muſt render him the more odious, and had rid them of an enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they perſuaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the news, and all the

The King receives the news of all this.

the circumſtances of it, "that he might ſooner take "revenge upon that people by a temporary complying "with them, and going to them, than ſtaying away, and "abſenting himſelf, which would inveſt them in an ab- "ſolute dominion in that kingdom, and give them "power to corrupt or deſtroy all thoſe who yet remained "faithful to him, and were ready to ſpend their lives in "his ſervice:" and ſo his Majeſty purſued his former reſolution of embarking for Scotland.

The affairs of Ireland.

In Ireland, after the maſſacre of that body of Engliſh at Tredagh, and the treacherous giving up the towns in Munſter, by the officers of the Lord Inchiquin, there broke out ſo implacable a jealouſy amongſt the Iriſh againſt all the Engliſh, that no orders of the Marquis of Ormond found any obedience, nor could he draw an army together. At the making of the peace, he had conſented that the confederate Roman Catholics ſhould name a number of the commiſſioners, by whoſe orders and miniſtry all levies of men, and all collections of money, were to be made, according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And ſuch perſons were named, in whoſe affections, for the moſt part, the Lieutenant was well ſatisfied, and the reſt were ſuch as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain number of theſe were appointed to be always in the army, and near the perſon of the Lord Lieutenant, and the reſt in their ſeveral ſtations, where they were moſt like to advance the ſervice. Many of theſe commiſſioners were of the Roman Catholic nobility, perſons of honour, and very ſenſible of the weakneſs, wilfulneſs, and wickedneſs of that rebellion; and did manifeſt all poſſible zeal and affection to the King's ſervice, engaging their perſons in all enterpriſes of danger, and uſing all poſſible induſtry to raiſe men and money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might

might be enabled to carry on the war in the ſpring. But many of the other, after thoſe misfortunes had fallen out, which are mentioned before, either totally deſponded, and rather thought of providing for themſelves than for the preſervation of the public; or fomented the jealouſies which were amongſt the Iriſh, and incenſed them againſt the Engliſh, who were ſtill with the Lord Lieutenant; ſo that his orders were not obeyed at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their clergy and friars publicly incenſed the people againſt the articles of the peace, and deſired to have an army raiſed apart under a General of their own.

The Lord Lieutenant now diſcovered the reaſon why Owen O'Neile had refuſed to conſent to the peace which the confederate Roman Catholics had made with the King, and kept his army in Ulſter from ſubmitting thereunto, and pretended to deſire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himſelf; which was then thought to proceed from the jealouſy that was between him and Preſton, and the animoſity between thoſe old Iriſh of Ulſter, and the other of the other provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of Ormond's tranſporting himſelf out of France, and that the correſpondence was diſcovered to be between him and the Lord Inchiquin, and the treaty begun with the confederate Catholics, the cloſe committee at Weſtminſter ſent ſecret inſtructions to Monk, who commanded part of their forces in Ireland, "that he ſhould endeavour to "treat with Owen O'Neile, and ſo divide him from the "reſt of the Iriſh;" which Monk found opportunity to do: and it was no ſooner propoſed than hearkened unto by O'Neile; who preſently ſent a truſty meſſenger with ſuch propoſitions to Monk, as he deſired to have granted to him. He offered, "with his army, which ſhould

"always

" always conſiſt of ſuch a number of horſe and foot, " and artillery, as ſhould be agreed between them, to " ſerve the Parliament; and not to ſeparate from their " intereſt:" and propoſed, " that he, and all his party " that ſhould adhere to him, ſhould enjoy the exerciſe " of their religion, without any prejudice or diſad- " vantage: that himſelf might be reſtored to thoſe " lands which his anceſtors had been poſſeſſed of in " Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of Ireland; " and that all thoſe who had or would adhere to him, " ſhould be likewiſe reſtored to their eſtates; and that " an act of oblivion might be granted." Monk received theſe propoſitions; and after he had peruſed them, he ſent him word, " that there were ſome parti- " culars, which, he doubted, would ſhock and offend " the Parliament, and therefore deſired they might be " altered;" and propoſed the alterations he adviſed; which principally concerned the public exerciſe of their religion; which he ſo qualified, that they might well enough ſatisfy; and propoſed, " that, if O'Neile would " conſent to thoſe alterations, he would return the treaty " ſigned by him; which he would immediately ſend " over to the Parliament for their confirmation; and " that, in the mean time, there might be a ceſſation of " arms between them for three months; in which time, " and much leſs, he preſumed, he ſhould receive a ratifi- " cation of the treaty from the Parliament."

Owen O'Neile conſented to the alterations, ſet his hand and ſeal to the treaty, and returned it to Monk, with his conſent likewiſe to the ceſſation for three months. And at this time it was, that he refuſed to agree with the confederate council at Kilkenny in the peace with the King. Monk ſent it preſently to the committee, which had given him authority to do what he had done.

But

But their affairs were now better compoſed at home, and ſome preparations were made towards ſending relief for Ireland; beſides, they had not authority to make any ſuch ratification, but preſented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no ſooner reported there but the Houſe was on fire; all men inveighed againſt "the preſumption of Monk, who deſerved to "be diſplaced, and to have his command taken from "him, and to have exemplary puniſhment inflicted on "him. They remembered how criminal they had de- "clared it to be in the King himſelf, to have treated, "and made a peace with the Iriſh rebels: and what "would the people think, and ſay, if any countenance "ſhould be given to the ſame tranſgreſſion by the Par- "liament? if they ſhould ratify a treaty made by the "moſt notorious of the rebels, and with that people "under his command, who were the moſt notorious "contrivers of that rebellion, and the moſt bloody exe- "cutioners of it? for the moſt mercileſs maſſacres had "been committed in Ulſter, by that very people who "now conſtituted that army of which Owen O'Neile "was now General." After all the paſſion and choler which they thought neceſſary to expreſs upon this ſubject, they declared, "that they had given no authority "to Monk to enter into that treaty; and therefore, "that it was void, and ſhould never be confirmed by "them; but that, ſince he had proceeded out of the "ſincerity of his heart, and as he thought (how errone- "ouſly ſoever) for the good and benefit of the Common- "wealth, he ſhould be excuſed; and no farther queſ- "tioned thereupon." For they knew well, that he could produce ſuch a warrant from thoſe in authority, as would well juſtify his proceeding: and ſo the treaty with Owen O'Neile became void, though they had received

The Houſe reſtores Monk's treaty with Owen O'Neile.

a very

a very conſiderable benefit by it; for though the Scots in Ulſter had not yet ſubmitted to the peace, and had not yet received directions from Edinburgh to acknowledge the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the murder of the late King, they had uſed all acts of hoſtility againſt the Parliament forces, and had beſieged Londonderry; the only conſiderable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament; which was defended by Sir Charles Coote, and when it was brought to ſome extremity, by the ceſſation made with Owen O'Neile, and by his connivance and aſſiſtance, Londonderry was relieved; and O'Neile, finding himſelf deluded by the Parliament, ſent then to offer his ſervice and conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abundant profeſſions of fidelity and revenge.

Cromwell made notable uſe of this animoſity between the Iriſh amongſt themſelves, and of the jealouſy they all appeared to have of the Marquis of Ormond, and of thoſe who adhered to him; and uſed all the endeavours he could, by ſome priſoners who were taken, and by others who were in the towns which were betrayed to him, and were well known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He uſed to aſk in ſuch company, "what the Marquis of Or-" mond had to do with Charles Stuart, and what obli-" gations he had ever received from him?" And then would mention the hard meaſure his grandfather had received from King James, and the many years impriſonment he had ſuſtained by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at laſt compelled to do. He ſaid, "he was confi-" dent, if the Marquis and he could meet together, " upon conference, they ſhould part very good friends."

And

And many of thoſe with whom he held theſe diſcourſes, by his permiſſion and licence, informed the Marquis of all he ſaid; who endeavoured nothing but to put himſelf into ſuch a poſture, as to be able to meet him as he deſired to do.

When Cromwell ſaw that he ſhould be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, beſides the army that yet remained under Owen O'Neile ſo much diſobliged and provoked, there were ſtill vaſt bodies of the Iriſh, which might be drawn together into ſeveral armies, much greater and ſuperior in number to all his forces, and that they had ſeveral great towns and ſtrong holds in their power, he declared a full liberty and authority to all the officers with the Iriſh, and to all other perſons whatſoever, to raiſe what men they would, and to tranſport them for the ſervice of any foreign princes with whom they could make the beſt conditions; and gave notice to the Spaniſh and French miniſters, and agents at London, of the liberty he had granted. Upon which many officers who had ſerved the King, and remained in London in great poverty and want, made conditions with Don Alonzo de Cardinas, to raiſe regiments and tranſport them into Spain; and many officers, who were already in Spain, as well Engliſh as Iriſh, contracted with the miniſters in that Court to raiſe and tranſport ſeveral regiments into that kingdom from Ireland; for which they received very great ſums of money in hand; many merchants joining with them in the contract, and undertaking the tranſportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the ſea in the undertaking; inſomuch that, in very few months above a year, there were embarked in the ports of Ireland above five and twenty thouſand men for the kingdom of Spain; whereof not half were ever

Cromwell gives the Iriſh leave to tranſport themſelves into any prince's ſervice.

drawn into the field there, and very few ever lived to return. For the officers and maſters of ſhips, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their men at ſuch ports as were aſſigned to them, and where care was taken for their reception, and conduct to the quarters which were appointed, according to the ſervice to which they were deſigned, either for Catalonia or Portugal, (after they had been long at ſea, by which the ſoldiers, who were crowded more together into one ſhip than was fit for ſo long voyages, had contracted many diſeaſes, and many were dead, and thrown overboard), as ſoon as they came upon the coaſt made all haſte to land, how far ſoever from the place at which they ſtood bound to deliver their men; by which, in thoſe places that could make reſiſtance, they were not ſuffered to land, and in others no proviſion was made for their reception or march, but very great numbers were ſtarved or knocked in the head by the country people, and few ever came up to the armies, except officers; who flocked to Madrid for the remainder of their monies; where the miniſters received them with reproaches for not obſerving their conditions, and refuſed to pay either them, or the maſters of the ſhips, what remained to be paid by them. This was the caſe of too many: though the truth is, where the articles were punctually obſerved, and the ſhips arrived in the very ports aſſigned, by the defect in the orders ſent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor men were often kept from diſembarking, till ſome officers went to Madrid, and returned with more poſitive orders, and afterwards ſo ill proviſion was made for their refreſhing and march, that rarely half of thoſe who were ſhipped in Ireland, ever lived to do any ſervice in Spain: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the miniſters there ſhould

iſſue

iſſue out ſuch vaſt ſums in money for the raiſing of ſoldiers, and bringing them into the kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the officers, and take ſo very little care to cheriſh and nouriſh them, when they came thither; which manifeſted how looſe the government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the Iriſh for the ſervice of Spain, than of France; yet the Cardinal employed more active and dexterous inſtruments to make uſe of the liberty that was granted, and ſhipping was more eaſily procured, the paſſage being ſhorter; inſomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thouſand men at the ſame time tranſported out of Ireland into the kingdom of France; of whoſe behaviour in the one kingdom and the other, there will be abundant argument hereafter to diſcourſe at large. In the mean time, it is enough to obſerve that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithſtanding all the promiſes, obligations, and contracts, which the confederate Roman Catholics had made to and with him, could not draw together a body of five thouſand men, (by which he might have been able to have given ſome ſtop to the current of Cromwell's ſucceſſes), Cromwell himſelf found a way to ſend above forty thouſand men out of that kingdom for ſervice of foreign princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have reſtored it to the King's entire obedience.

The low condition of the loyal party in England.

In England, the ſpirits of all the loyal party were ſo broken and ſubdued, that they could ſcarce breathe under the inſupportable burdens which were laid upon them by impriſonments, compoſitions, and ſequeſtrations. Whatever articles they had made in the war, and whatever promiſes had been made of pardon and indemnity, they

they were now called upon to finiſh their compoſition for their delinquency, and paid dear for the credit they had given to the profeſſions and declarations of the army, when it ſeemed to have pity, and complained of the ſevere and rigorous proceeding againſt the King's party, and extorting unreaſonable penalties from them; which then they deſired might be moderated. But now the maſk was off, they ſequeſtered all their eſtates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they ſhould compound; which they were forced to do at ſo unreaſonable rates, that many were compelled to ſell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the ſupport of their families; which remainder was ſtill liable to whatever impoſitions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their perſons were to impriſonment, when any unreaſonable and groundleſs report was raiſed of ſome plot and conſpiracy againſt the ſtate.

The Parliament, which conſiſted only of thoſe members who had ſate in judgment, and had ſolemnly murdered the King, and of thoſe who as ſolemnly under their hands had approved and commended what the others had done, met with no oppoſition or contradiction from any, but an entire ſubmiſſion from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own army which had contributed moſt to the grandeur and empire of which they were poſſeſſed, the Levellers. That people had been countenanced by Cromwell to enter into cabals and confederacies to corrupt and diſſolve the diſcipline of the army, and by his artifices had been applied to bring all his crooked deſigns to paſs. By them he broke the ſtrict union between the Parliament and the Scots, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the army, with ſo many fair profeſſions of intending better to his Majeſty,

The Levellers mutiny; and are ſuppreſſed by Fairfax.

jeſty, and his party, than the other did; by them the Preſbyterians had been affronted and trodden under foot, and the city of London expoſed to diſgrace and infamy; by them he had broken the treaty of the Iſle of Wight; driven out of the Parliament, by force of arms, all thoſe who deſired peace, and at laſt executed his barbarous malice upon the ſacred perſon of the King: and when he had applied them to all thoſe uſes, for which he thought them to be moſt fit, he hoped and endeavoured to have reduced them again, by a ſevere hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had ſeduced them, and which was now as neceſſary to his future purpoſe of government. But they had taſted too much of the pleaſure of having their part and ſhare in it, to be willing to be ſtripped, and deprived of it; and made an unſkilful computation of what they ſhould be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in thoſe changes and revolutions which are mentioned; not conſidering, that the ſuperior officers of the army were now united with the Parliament, and concurred entirely in the ſame deſigns. And therefore when they renewed their former expoſtulations and demands from the Parliament, they were caſhiered, and impriſoned, and ſome of them put to death. Yet about the time that Cromwell, who had proſecuted them with great fury, was going for Ireland, they recovered their courage, and reſolved to obtain thoſe conceſſions by force, which were refuſed to be granted upon their requeſt: and ſo they mutinied in ſeveral parts, upon preſumption that the reſt of the army, who would not join with them in public, would yet never be prevailed with to oppoſe, and reduce them by force. But this confidence deceived them; for the Parliament no ſooner commanded their General Fairfax to

to ſuppreſs them, than he drew troops together, and fell upon them at Banbury, Burford, and in other places; and by killing ſome upon the place, and executing others to terrify the reſt, he totally ſuppreſſed that faction; and the orders of thoſe at Weſtminſter met with no more oppoſition.

This was the ſtate and condition of the three kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, ſome few months after the King embarked himſelf in Holland for Scotland. And ſince the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate actions, we will end this diſcourſe, according to the method we have uſed, with this year: though hereafter we ſhall not continue the ſame method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in leſs room, whilſt the King reſted in a patient expectation of God's bleſſing and deliverance.

THE END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.